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ABSTRACT

Papers from the conference include the following: opening remarks (Lorne Laforge and William F. Mackey); a position paper on the written language of the world (Grant D. McConnell); "An Overview of the Practical and Theoretical Implications of the 'Written Languages of India' Survey Regarding Language and National Development Strategies" (Grant D. McConnell); "Parameters of Language Inequality" (B. P. Mahapatra); "Standardization of Languages--The Case of India" (S. S. Bhattacharya); "Official and Minority Languages in Canada and India: Their Status, Functions and Prestige" (William F. Mackey); "The Concept of Working Language" (Jean-Denis Gendron); "Language Teaching and Language Planning" (Lorne Laforge); "Remarks on Survey Goals and Data Authenticity Validity" (R. C. Nigam); "The Hindi Language in Hindi and Non-Hindi Regions of India" (S. P. Srivastava); "Literacy Trend vs. Literary Development Among Some Scheduled Tribes" (T. P. Mukherjee); and "Selected Tribes and Their Mother Tongues" (O. P. Sharma). (MSE)

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THE WRITTEN LANGUAGES OF INDIA PROCEEDINGS OF THE INDO-CANADIAN ROUND TABLE MARCH 7-8TH, NEW DELHI, 1988

IN MEMORY OF HEINZ KLOSS (1904-1987)

PRESENTATION:
Grant D. McConnell
B.P. Mahapatra

1990

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The Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India

present / présentent

The Written Languages of India

Proceedings of the Indo-Canadian Round Table
March 7-8th, New Delhi, 1988

Actes de la Table Ronde Indo-Canadienne
7-8 mars, New Delhi, 1988

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presentation

GRANT D. McCONNELL
B.P. MAHAPATRA

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À la mémoire du Professeur Heinz Kloss (1904-1987), fondateur du projet sur les Langues écrites du monde et membre émérite du Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, Université Laval, Québec, Canada.

In fond memory of Dr. HEINZ KLOSS (1904-1987), the founder of the project on the Written Languages of the World and life member of the International Center for Research on Bilingualism, Laval University, Quebec City, Canada.

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Foreword

It is with great pleasure that I present to our future readers my comments on the sum and substance of the papers presented at the March 1988 Delhi Round Table on the *Written Languages of India*. This was basically an in-house Round Table meeting consisting of the two teams of reseachers - Indian and Canadian - who worked on the project, including a number of special guests from other disciplines and institutions in India. In a sense, this is the final gesture in an international cooperative project long in the making, but replete with challenges, new discoveries and not a little adventure.

It is also fitting that this volume be dedicated to the memory of Dr. Heinz Kloss, with whom I was associated on a number of projects over the past 20 years and who, through his particular interest for India and her multi-language setting, was instrumental in providing that first initiative and thrust, that got us going on this momentous undertaking.

The papers in this collection are less the result of a central theme (as is usually the case) and much more the result of a central project and survey, namely, the *Written Languages of India*. It was rather the latter that has been the focus of our attention, and the number and types of papers presented here are as multifaceted as the project itself. It should hardly be surprising then that the project encompass such varied topics as: 1) language teaching (Laforge), 2) language functions and language usage (Mackey, Gendron), 3) a theoretical model of language development (McConnell), 4) literacy (Mukerjee, Sharma), 5) standardization (Bhattacharya), 6) language usage and spread (Srivastava), 7) a typology of the dimensions of spread (Mahapatra) and 8) problems of data validity and project goals (Nigam). The above topics are all present and in all cases find a reference point in the project, that each author - according to inclination and experience - has wished to elaborate either in the form of analysis and comments and/or in anticipation of follow up projects. Such a spin-off effect was foreseen by Dr. Kloss in his Introduction to the volume on the *Americas* (Kloss-McConnell, 1978) and underlines the basic usefulness of such fruitful research on both practical and theoretical levels.

As for the organization of the book's material, I have presented first: 1) the Agenda and List of Participants, 2) then the Opening Remarks, followed by 3) the Position Paper, which will help readers get an orientation on the project. Next, come 4) the Papers, which are generally organized by the breadth of the theme, starting with those having a broad theme and terminating with those having a more specific theme.

In closing, I would like to thank all participants whose papers appear in this volume, as well as the specially invited experts, whose names appear in the List of Participants, and who through their remarks and verbal exchanges greatly enriched our meeting. The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) deserves our special thanks, through their representative in Delhi, Mr. V.G. Pande, for their support of this Round Table.

Grant D. McConnell
ICRB
Laval University

Agenda

Round Table on the **Written Languages of India** - a Collaborative Project between the *Office of the Registrar General*, Government of India and the *International Center for Research on Bilingualism (ICRB)*, Laval University, Quebec, with support from the *International Development Research Centre (IDRC)*, Ottawa, Canada

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Monday, March 7, 1988

Chairman:	Mr. V.S. Verma, Registrar General of India
09:00	Opening remarks by Mr. Vijay G. Pande, Regional Director, International Development Research Centre, New Delhi
	Welcome Speech by Registrar General of India, V.S. Verma
	Condolence Resolution for the late Dr. Heinz Kloss
	Introducing the Project: Prof. L. Laforge, Director, ICRB
10:00-11:00	Coffee Break and Viewing of displayed materials

SESSION I

Chairman:	Prof. W.F. Mackey, ICRB
11:00-11:40	Theme Paper by Dr. B.P. Mahapatra, Deputy Registrar General (Languages)
11:40-12:00	Discussion
12:00-12:30	Theme Paper by Dr. G. McConnell, ICRB
12:30-13:00	Discussion
13:00-14:00	LUNCH

SESSION II

Chairman:	Mr. R.C. Nigam, Consultant
14:00-14:30	Paper: Mr. O.P. Sharma, Deputy Director, RGI, Delhi
14:30-15:30	Discussion
15:00-15:30	Paper: Prof. L. Laforge, Director, ICRB
15:30-16:00	Discussion
16:00-16:30	Tea Break
16:30-17:00	Paper: Mr.T.P. Mukherjee, RGI, Calcutta
17:00-17:30	Discussion

Tuesday, March 8

SESSION I

Chairman:	Prof. L. Laforge, Director, ICRB
09:00-09:30	Paper: Prof. W.F. Mackey, ICRB
09:30-09:50	Discussion
09:50-10:20	Paper: Mr. S.S. Bhattacharya, RGI, Calcutta
10:20-10:40	Discussion
10:40-11:15	Coffee Break
11:15-11:45	Paper: Prof. J.D. Gendron, ICRB
11:45-12:05	Discussion
12:05-12:35	Paper: Mr. S.P. Srivastava, RGI, Calcutta
12:35-13:00	Discussion
13:00-14:00	LUNCH

SESSION II (Open)

Chairman:	Prof. J.D. Gendron, ICRB
14:00-15:30	Discussion on the contribution made by the volume "Written Languages of India" to the "Written Languages of the World" Project and to the field of Sociolinguistics Opening remarks by Mr. R.C. Nigam
15:30-16:00	Tea Break

CONCLUDING SESSION

Chairman:	Mr. V.S. Verma
16:00 onwards:	Brief resume by Dr. G. McConnell and Dr. B.P. Mahapatra Concluding Remarks: Mr. V.S. Verma Vote of Thanks: Mr. S.S. Bhattacharya

DINNER

20:00	Hosted by Mr. Vijay Pande, Regional Director, IDRC, New Delhi and Mrs. Pande at Senate Room, Hyatt Regency Hotel

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Opening Remarks

Lorne Laforge

Mr. Chairman
Dear Colleagues,

May I first say how privileged and honored I am as Director of the International Center for Research on Bilingualism and Head of the Canadian delegation to this Round Table, to be your guest and to visit your wonderful country for the first time. Since our arrival we have experienced your generous hospitality and started exploring the old and New Delhi, capital city of a country which has fathered some of the greatest philosophers and leaders of the world; the country which could still be called the largest democratic country of the world.

The second reason why I feel particularly privileged and honored is that I am associated with this important event - joining my voice to the distinguished speakers who have preceeded me in this opening session, namely; Mr. V.S. Verma, Registrar General of India and Chairman of this session, Mr. Vijay G. Pande, Regional Director of the International Development Research Centre in New Delhi, who declared this Round Table open for discussion.

Much of the details of the project has been wonderfully exposed in the "Position Paper" you all received with your agenda. I will not repeat its content but instead formulate a few introductory remarks.

Since I am supposed, according to the formal agenda, to introduce the project, I would take this opportunity to present to you my colleagues from the ICRB, some of whom are already well known to many of you. I would like to present Dr. William Francis Mackey, founder of the Center, first Director from 1967 to 1970 and the initiator of the *Written Languages of the World* project and also the *Linguistic Composition of the Nations of the World* project at the ICRB. Dr. Jean-Denis Gendron, former Director of our Center from 1979 to 1986 and former Chairman of the Commission on the Situation of the French Language in Québec. And last but not the least, Dr. Grant D. McConnell, who first came to Laval University some twenty years ago to work as an assistant to Dr. Heinz Kloss and later became co-director of the project until Dr. Kloss' final departure in June 1987. Dr. McConnell is now the only captain of this project and entirely responsible for its success as far as the Canadian side is concerned.

It may seem that the presence of Canadians, members of the ICRB, here at this Round Table dealing with the Written Languages of India, needs a minimum of explanation. Why Canadians? The answer originates, some twenty or thirty years ago, when the government of Canada discovered that it had a linguistic problem and decided to address that problem by appointing a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, thereby starting extensive studies and surveys on the linguistic situation of Canada. One of the recommendations was that a center for expertise or research on bilingualism be founded to explore the phenomenon internationally. Laval University was chosen as the ideal and most logical location for such a center. It was founded twenty years ago in 1967 with the support of the Ford Foundation.

The main objective was to act so as to perpetuate the Royal Commission's constant search for knowledge everywhere in the world. Later, the works of other commissions such as the Gendron Commission were deposited in the documentation archives, which now constitutes one of the most important collections in the world.

We are gathered here today to witness and celebrate one of the most important moments in our joint project, the *Written Languages of India.* This is a moment long awaited (let's not hope a curtain fall), a Round Table here in New Delhi held in order to examine (according to the Position Paper presented by the organizing Committee) not only the short term objectives of such an achievement, but also the general long term objectives; namely the practical and the scientific benefits.

This gathering or I must say the whole *Written Languages of India* project, would not have been made possible without the generous funding and sponsorship of The International Development Research Center (IDRC) of Canada, that completed the support in kind coming from our partner the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India and from our own Center. The IDRC is to be thanked not only for that tangible support but also for the genuine comprehension of language issues in the overall development of any country in the world. We will try to demonstrate during this two day gathering that such a survey is the very beginning of all language planning schemes. Again we ask the Regional Director of IDRC in India, Mr. Pande to convey our thanks to the Head Office in Ottawa.

Let us hope that this Round Table on our joint project, (now that we have paid tribute to the past) will be future oriented. Already, the ICRB is working on a new orientation, which will enlarge the scope of Bilingualism, to an orientation geared to the study of languages, varieties of languages and cultures in constant contact and, on the other hand, to the study of everyday problems of interlinguistic and intralinguistic communication. In a nutshell, our orientation will enhance our commitment to the development of the communities of the world through appropriate language planning and language policy.

In the meantime some short term follow-up projects could be proposed such as; 1) a joint publication of the proceedings of this Round Table, 2) the publication of the survey on the languages of India and perhaps, 3) a project on the situation of the English and Sanskrit languages in India.

My conclusion will be taken from Dr. McConnell's latest "progress report" on the project, showing thereby my endorsement of his declaration. "One cannot but conclude that the project, although it has taken longer to carry out than anticipated, has been a large success. Some 50 language reports containing 600 pages of data have been prepared. Also, some secondary analysis has been done concerning a measurement of language vitality. It should be noted that it is the largest language survey undertaken in India since the Grierson survey of 1903-1928, and the only sociolinguistic survey of such broad horizons ever undertaken in the country. The exchange and training program has been an essential part of this success and has enabled both our institutions to grow and mature in stature and capacity".

Thank you very much.

As a token of the collaboration established between our two institutions a few years ago. I would like to deliver this message from the President of our University, Dr. Michel Gervais:

March 2nd, 1988

"Dear Shri Verma:

On this occasion of the official closing of the Written Languages of India project, I wish to extend to you and your colleagues of the Office of the Registrar General and Census Commission, my hearty congratulations for the successful conclusion of your research project.

We of Laval University, are proud to be associated with your office in this joint enterprise with the International Center for Research on Bilingualism and are open to any such further collaboration in the future. May the Delhi Round Table on March 7-8 be a full success worthy of the larger undertaking.

With sincere best wishes for our present and future collaboration."

The Rector,
MICHEL GERVAIS

Opening Remarks

William F. Mackey

Mr. Chairman,

Let me begin by expressing my personal thanks for the invitation and hospitality you have shown to us. It is possible that some of you may still be wondering what a group of Canadians from the cold north is doing here at a meeting on the written languages of India. To answer that question I must take you back a quarter century, to a time when we in Quebec had experienced or witnessed conflict, and indeed violence, within the Canadian federation, although the turmoil was admittedly less intense than similar conflicts in India centered around the issue of language status.

There was at that time in Canada a widespread feeling that, if the conflict continued, it would split the country into two separate states -- one French and the other English-speaking. And the government seemed helpless to do anything to prevent it. Yet as you know, in the system of government which we both share, dilemmas such as these are first brought down from their boiling point by the device of an impartial commission of investigation and then allowed to simmer for the duration of the hearings. So the government of the day appointed a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which turned out to be the largest and most expensive one in our history. But it did achieve its purpose.

One of the reasons for the length and cost of the Commission (aside from the sedative effect), was the lack of available expertise. The commissioners were astounded to discover that not a single university in the country had any sort of academic commitment to the study of the problem. Being discipline-oriented they were all organized into departments, like economics, political science, sociology, anthropology and linguistics, not one of which had language contact as its central pre-occupation. Any marginal considerations of this phenomenon were justified only insofar as they advanced somebody's theory. In this context it was not surprising that one of the many recommendations of the Commission was that Canada should equip itself with some sort of institution, which would become a resource center for the study and documentation of language contact. This was not seen as a luxury for a country with an ongoing potential for language conflict -- not only between French and English -- but also involving a good number of emerging immigrant and aboriginal language groups.

This recommandation was considered by the Canadian Association of Universities and after some study it was decided that Quebec City, in the heartland of French-speaking Canada, should be the appropriate place. As our university was situated there, it was invited to found such an institution. So, exactly 20 years ago last month our Center of Research on Bilingualism was founded at Laval university. I was appointed its first director for a period of three years and was succeeded by a well-known geographer, Henri Dorion, who brought with him his data bank on the language demography of the nations of the world, and successively by the linguist Jean-Denis Gendron, who reached the highest echelons of the Quebec government, as head of the famous Gendron Language Commission, whose recommendations generated the present language laws of Quebec. Jean-Denis Gendron, whom we have the pleasure of having with us, was succeeded by the long-time dean of our Faculty of Letters, Lorne Laforge, who is our present director and also head of this Canadian delegation.

In retrospect, I can say that our basic decisions in setting up the Center were the right ones, although they were by no means easy to implement. From the outset, it became evident that what was most urgently needed was documentation..... not only in the form of articles and books, but also as information and data on language contact situations. Secondly, it was clear that we could not really understand our own problems without having comprehended those of others. Our Center had to be international in scope if not in purpose. After all, in spite of what many of our compatriots seemed to believe at the time, we were not the only bilingual country in the world. There was really a great information gap on this topic, and we needed all the help we could get to fill it. Looking abroad we found no place where we could turn, no other research center on bilingualism; yet there were a few groups which were beginning to address some language-related issues. One of these was a modest centre in West Germany (Marburg)[1] devoted to the study of language and nationality questions, founded and directed by the late and lamented Heinz Kloss. So I invited Dr. Kloss to join us and he was good enough to bring with him his entire data bank which, when fused with our own, formed the nucleus of what was to become the language observatory known as the "Linguistic Composition of the Nations of the World: India." As resident and full-time collaborator and eventually co-director, Kloss appointed one of my former students and present colleague, Grant D. McConnell, whom you all probably know by now and whom we rate as "our old India-hand", since he has spent so much time on the languages of India. But Dr. McConnell is of course with us and is well able to give a better account than I can of this remarkable joint achievement.

As for myself, like many Westerners, I realize that if we have come to help and even presume to teach, we remain to learn. Only in India do we find a central laboratory for all the multiple and multi-dimensional problems of language contact. And it is only after examining the impressive corpus of data that you and our Center have gathered, compiled and partly analysed over all these years and after thinking of comparisons with our own Canadian data, that I felt capable of talking about the status and function of languages in contact within the multinational state.

---

[1] Forschungsstelle für Nationalitäten- und Sprachenfragen.

Position Paper on the Written Languages of the World

Grant D. McConnell

1. What is the full title of the project?

The full title of the project is: *The Written Languages of the World: A Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use.*

The project covers the world's *written* languages, estimated to be about 1 500, but excludes those languages for which there is only a script, a word list or a piece of translation. (Such incipient languages are usually included as a supplementary list in the appendix). The reason that writing was chosen as a criterion of classification is justified, in that the creating of a script and its use in writing represents an important step in the standardization - development process. It is precisely this process that we have set out to describe and quantify in the present survey.

The title of the project further indicates that it is language *usage* (or functions) that we have set out to describe. This usage can be defined in terms of its *extensiveness* (pervasiveness) throughout the society i.e. in many domains - institutions and their levels, and also as a *degree* of usage in terms of *relative frequency.* As for modes, there are two in number, namely; 1) written and 2) oral, both of which are important particularly in public and semi-public areas of communication. It is in these areas that a language develops styles and genres (elaboration-cultivation) and can gain access to wider use (implementation) as an in-group and/or between-group sociocommunicative diasystem.

2. Why not include the Unwritten Languages of the world in the project?

Although the *unwritten* languages operate only in one mode (oral), it is certain that they can still play important roles particularly in traditional societies, but also in private (intimate, non-public) contexts in modern societies. In fact, a subsequent study of the importance of non-public roles in language survival (entrenchment) needs to be done. For the moment we have included the non-written languages in a second world-wide project called the *Linguistic Composition of the Nations of the World*, which has appeared in five volumes with two volumes yet to be completed. This collection of seven volumes[1] which is demolinguistic and ethnographic in orientation, contains such data as: i) language location; ii) statistics on languages, and national, ethnic categories e.g. mother tongue, ethnic group, bilinguals, foreign born. Its principal aim is to provide a quantitative, linguistic profile of all countries in the world.

3. Who was the founder of the Written Languages project?

The project was founded by Heinz Kloss in 1968 and was incorporated into the research program of the International Center for Research on Bilingualism (ICRB), Laval University, Quebec City, Canada, thanks to the initiative of the founding director, William F. Mackey. Shortly thereafter, Grant D. McConnell became co-director with Heinz Kloss. The founder continued to co-direct the project until his demise in June, 1987 at the age of 84 years.

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[1] Central and Western South Asia, 2. North America, 3. Central and South America, 4. Oceania, 5. Europe and the USSR. 6. Southeast Asia, 7. Africa.

4. How many volumes have been prepared in the Written Languages project?

One volume has been prepared on the *Americas*, a second volume on *India* in two parts[2] and a third on *Western Europe*. Three other volumes are presently in preparation, namely: 1) *West Africa*, 2) *Oceania* and 3) *China*. Another volume covering mainland *China* is in the planning stage.

5. What types of institutes are supporting the project?

For such a large scale survey to succeed, it is obvious that both the scientific responsibility and the financial support must come from a number of different sources. For example, for the *West African* volume, scientific support was assured by some 15 research centers i.e. one in each of the countries included in the survey. In the case of the *India* volume the scientific and administrative infrastructure was assured by the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, in collaboration with the International Center for Research on Bilingualism (ICRB), Canada. Support in kind came from both these partners but was further solidified by support from the International Development Research Center (IDRC) Canada for the exchange and training programs, which became invaluable additions to the survey.

6. What are the specific short term objectives of the project in India?

1. Produce a list of the written and incipient written languages of India;
2. Produce a supplementary list of the unwritten languages of India.
3. Determine the role, both spoken and written, of each of the languages in a number of public domains of wider, social communication e.g. government administration, justice, mass media, education, manufacturing, etc.;
4. Determine the types and quantities of written materials available in each of the languages (50) covered by the study;
5. Prepare a report, analysing the data and indicating those languages requiring literacy campaigns, production of basic written materials, or materials relating to the standardization (codification) of a language;
6. Prepare a volume on the *Written Languages of India*.

7. What are the general long term objectives of the project in India?

The long term objectives may be classified according to goal-oriented terms, namely: A) Practical Benefits and B) Scientific Benefits.

A) *Practical Benefits*

1. The project should act as a stimulus to *language planning* activities in India ranging from Hindi - the official language, to the regional official, then on to the non-official languages of India;

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[2] Book 1, Constitutional Languages (Schedule VIII); Book 2, Non-Constitutional Languages.

2. The project should open a dialogue between language planners and those working in particular areas of *applied linguistics*, ranging from language teaching, to production of literacy materials and manuals, to those involved in problems of communication;

3. The project provides a detailed sociolinguistic description of language products and functions, including a model of the social usage of language by; a) modes, b) domains, c) domains levels, d) state and territorial subdivisions. Hence, it can enable *specialists* and technicians to *diagnose* language development and at the same time determine where a language is deficient and hence discover what type of treatment is required.

4. Subsequent analyses based on the data gathered will enable specialists and government technicians to provide a measurement of language usage in terms of a *vitality rating*. This will give a quantified measurement of usage for each language, but will also allow comparison of language ratings in any language contact situation. Eventually, vitality ratings can be monitored over time and become an important ingredient in cost/benefit analyses and in comparative across language and diachronic studies.

5. Special attention needs to be given to *literacy* problems by language planners. In fact many benefits could accrue from a greater cooperation on the part of those working in the fields of literacy and language planning. As the survey covers school and learning institutions on all levels (primary to university), it can readily be seen what languages have most benefited from literacy and educational programs. This underlines the survey's descriptive, sociolinguistic objective of determining *what* language is taught, *where* and *when* or what language has *what types* and *how much* written material? The problem of a sufficient number of trained teachers can be seen as a by-product of the effort put into educational development for each language.

6. Language planning includes the process of language standardization. This process is characterized by the availability of standardization tools (dictionaries, grammars, manuals and readers). The survey provides a selected list of these tools for each language and a special section is dedicated to standardization. Without the latter there is little hope of subsequent language development. The survey questionnaire and data base in a sense reflect the whole standardization and development process.

7. Although the survey is quite obviously directly concerned with the language development process, this cannot, as is sometimes assumed, be divorced from problems of overall societal development. Even technology is not linguistically and culturally naive. Although more studies need to be undertaken on the detrimental, economic and social effects of breakdown in language and cultural communication, the results of this are seen by marginalized, backward and broken communities on the one hand and privileged communities on the other. This survey does not pretend to enter this complex area of study, but nevertheless establishes clearly the social dimensions of language use, upon which such future socio-economically oriented studies in development can be based.

B) *Scientific Benefits*

1. The project is scientifically innovative in that it sets up a descriptive grid of language functions across societal domains (institutions) and geo-political units. This enables us to determine and then compare language usage on a broad social scale. Although micro-sociolinguistic studies are well advanced in this regard based on *locale* situations, macro-sociolinguistic studies based on *domains* have been much more sporadic and

incomplete. Part of the reason for this lag in macro studies has to do with the difficulties involved in dealing with large social cohorts and their spacial contribution, and part with the concept of domain, which is more difficult to circumscribe than the more easily constructed *locale* situation. There is also the problem of defining and identifying a set of social functions and of course the problems of sampling on a broad social basis.

2. The Indian survey by its "mapping out" of functional usage and its quantification of language products e.g. films, books, magazines, etc. has led to two results. First, it has offered the possibility of quantifying functional usage both in terms of extensiveness (across domains and even polities) and frequency of use, and hence allows for a measurement or weighting of this usage. Preliminary analyses have allowed us to do so, using the term *vitality*. This should permit us to prepare vitality ratings for a particular set of functions on a number of levels (institutionalized), for a geo-political unit (state) or for written and oral functions (modes).

   Vitality ratings should be particularly useful as an instrument for comparing any two languages and at a later stage any number of varieties of a language. However, such ratings will be particularly useful in context i.e. in *language contact situations* by analysing and comparing the vitality ratings of a number of languages in a real social setting. This can reveal important information on *functional complementarity* of language usage in a particular language context. This in fact satisfies one of the goals of sociolinguistics, that of isolating the *functional* (where?) characteristics of sociocommunicative systems.

3. The macro-sociolinguistic survey of the written languages of India should also allow us, on the basis of the language contact situations uncovered, to establish types of *contact situations*, which will be established on inductive procedures i.e. from the concrete to the abstract. These, with time, can be built up to establish a *typology* of such contact situations based mainly on inductive procedures, but also on deductively based ones suggested in the sociolinguistic literature (Kloss, Stewart, Fishman, etc.)

4. This survey has allowed us to tackle from a new vantage point another basic theoretical problem of sociolinguistics namely; the effect of external variables on language form and function. This approach is strongly emphasized in the tradition of the sociology of language (Fishman). Given the perspective described earlier, the Indian project is in a good position to pursue this theoretical problem, but on a practical testing-type basis. There have been many warnings sounded (Lieberson, Emeneau) on the non-linear effect of the former on the latter. In the context of this project external variables e.g. demographic, may readily be tested to determine their influence on the vitality rates of the languages found in a particular contact situation. Preliminary tests on some of the Indian data suggest that variable influence is determined by the type of contact situation. In other words the same variable e.g. bilingualism, may affect vitality both positively or negatively according to the type of contact pattern found. This would concord with Kloss's hypothesis to the effect that the same variable may have both a positive and a negative role in language maintenance depending upon the situation.

5. The operations described above regarding functions, vitality, external variables and contact situations, etc. should permit a more systematic organization of the data, leading to a theoretical construct of the whole and also the interrelationships of its parts. This would involve a concrete step toward the formulation of a theory of language in society.

8. How can the project be further developed in India?

The present project covers 50 written languages of India including both constitutional and non-constitutional languages. A second and obvious step would be to cover those written languages that have been excluded from the project thus far, namely Sanskrit and English. The former still has important written functions and represents symbolic cultural and linguistic unity in the country. The latter, it can be argued, is only foreign in an historical sense. In reality it is very much part of the internal linguistic composition of India, and as a lingua franca, stands as one of the most important. English, as a vital part of many contact situations, is a must for future study in the framework of the written languages survey. With the inclusion of Sanskrit and English our survey of the *Written Languages of India* will be complete.

It is not our goal here to enumerate all the possible language projects that might be profitably undertaken in India. However, from a theoretical perspective two other projects might be suggested. First, one which would take up a language already covered in the survey, but this time use more detailed sampling methods regarding frequency of functional use. Efforts could also be made regarding the integration of micro and macro sampling techniques. Also, more emphasis could be placed on the diachronic dimension. This would emphasize maintenance or change in vitality over time. Second, a project again concentrating on one language could compare language form (varieties) with various functions (domains) to discover in what ways the two sets fit in a form-function grid. Is a one-to-one basis of form-function possible? If not, how can these be meaningfully divided into subgroups of a single diasystem?

9. How can the project be further developed worldwide?

As noted, a number of volumes have either been completed or are presently under way. Although, a general, long term objective is to complete as many volumes as possible, from a scientific point of view, what is important is to extend the descriptive base of the project to as many countries as possible. This will allow for a uniformity in the type of data gathered and will therefore make wider comparisons and more frequent measurements possible. At the same time, it should also result in the inclusion of an even greater variety of language contact situations. This should enable us to improve any on-going efforts in typology construction, measuring and theory building.

10. What conclusion can we now draw from the Indian survey?

It is difficult of course to be completely unbiased, but it is our contention that the *Written Languages of the World* project, which was initially conceived by the late Dr. Heinz Kloss, was perhaps a master stroke "coup de maitre", i.e., it was an idea of much vision, which has not stood still over the past 20 years, but has continued to grow in depth and in perspective from its very beginnings.

It was, however, only with the Indian survey that the project's real evolution gained in momentum. Heartfelt thanks must go to those who had the responsibility of implementing the project in the Language Division Calcutta Office, but equally to those responsible in the Office of the Registrar General, who had the vision, perspicacity and foresight to encourage such a project to take place - one with both a national and international (world) perspective. It has also been a real pleasure and an honor for those at the International Center for Research on Bilingualism (ICRB), to assist their Indian friends and colleagues in carrying out the project, and also in working together with colleagues at the International Development Research Center (IDRC) offices in Ottawa and Delhi. Through their support, they have permitted the founding partners to have a more meaningful and effective relationship.

Many of the principal aims of the project have already been mentioned and it was noted that there are a number of goals having both a practical and a scientific orientation. It is our contention that we will shortly be reaping the first benefits of the project through our Delhi Round Table meeting and following that event, the publication of the survey volume. Through further discussions and application of the project results, not only language planning and language development (literacy materials, teaching, communication, etc.) can benefit, but so too should all those other social, political and economic areas intimately connected to the language and cultural diversity of this great country that is India.

An Overview of the Practical and Theoretical Implications of the "Written Languages of India" Survey Regarding Language and National Development Strategies

Grant D. McConnell

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

It is now seven years since we officially began work on **The Written Languages of India Survey**. We are gathered here today to both discuss and celebrate the culmination of a truly remarkable enterprise. Remarkable in many ways; 1) for its international and cooperative dimension, 2) for the broadness of its theoretical potential, 3) remarkable for its detail, as well as its geographical scope, 4) remarkable for its potential, practical benefits and 5) finally, remarkable that we have arrived at the end of a rather exciting journey, relatively unscathed.

It is not that the survey has been perfect either in conception, in execution or in its final results. We can always say, that if it were to be redone, based on hindsight, it could be conceptually restructured more delicately, executed more diligently and hence, give even more definitive results. That being said, by trying to take as objective a stance as possible, I feel we can declare the project and the resulting survey results a success. Needless to say, if in the future we have the opportunity of doing further extensive or intensive sociolinguistic research in India, our past experience should help us to further improve upon the present accomplishments.

In the papers that are being read during the two days of our proceedings, we can hardly cover in a thorough manner all aspects of the survey, but we should, through the words spoken and ideas expressed, get a vivid account, which can reveal some of its important aspects or dimensions.

Dr. Mahapatra in his paper has given us a first-hand account of the "physical" content of the survey questionnaire and has shown us not only content but also its interpretation potential and how each piece fits into the whole. Of those colleagues that have worked directly on the project as a life experience, each of them will be highlighting some specific dimension of personal importance. Finally, for those of my colleagues from the CIRB, who have worked in sympathy with the project, encouraging us on, as it were, like fans at a cricket match, their points of view, while in liaison with the project, will be more a geographical and conceptual extension of the same, as well as an application of general sociolinguistic principles and goals. Finally, those colleagues present (see list of participants) from disciplines other than linguistics and sociolinguistics, have an important role to play in their comments and observations, for it is only in the application of the survey's results to language and national development strategies, that the project can have a definitive success. In doing so, it must pass beyond the hands of linguists to specialists of all stripes, pass beyond university scholarship to government administrations and planning agencies. For example, who would dare say that the relatively low birth rate in Kerala has little or nothing to do with the relatively high literacy rate. These are the broader type paradigms that we should all eventually be studying. Our own survey is a first concrete step in this direction.

2. BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE SURVEY

Much has happened in the intervening years since April 1981, when I arrived in Delhi, not of course for the first time, but for a memorable occasion nevertheless. I was to meet my old friend R.C. Nigam once again after a period of 5 to 6 years and also a new colleague, B.P. Mahapatra, who had just been appointed Deputy Registrar General of the Language Division, Calcutta. I still have the vivid memory of being escorted by my two colleagues directly from the airport to the negociating table, at Registrar General, P. Padmanatha's office, to restart negociations on the **Written Languages of India Project**. (I say "restart" because earlier negociations had reached no definitive conclusions). Two hours later upon emerging from the meeting into the strong Indian sunlight, I suddenly realized that the project was finally a reality and hence, symbolized the beginning of an adventure, which began on that April day - in an official sense - and which is now coming to an end - again in an official sense - during our present Delhi Round Table.

Of course, in the interval, many changes took place, many problems had to be faced and overcome - in other words the present results didn't just happen as if by magic, but were the result of a long and at times painstaking effort by all concerned. This team effort was of a most stimulating type and offered us all new challenges at every bend of the road. This, in a sense, was normal, as we were breaking much new ground in both empirical and theoretical directions. Although the project on **The Written Languages of The World** had been officially launched in 1968-1970 at the International Center for Research on Bilingualism (CIRB), Laval University, by the late Dr. Heinz Kloss at the invitation of Professor W.F. Mackey (the founding director of the Center) only one volume had appeared in the collection in the 1970's covering the **Americas** (1978).

The volume on India was to be the second in the series, but the scope and depth of the survey was to change radically on Indian soil. New domains were added, as well as further details regarding functions. The descriptive linguistic data was amplified, as well as the historical sketches and other background materials. In short, one could say that the whole project had gone through a process of transmutation concerning its content. This was of course necessary to come to grips with the complex linguistic situation of this vast subcontinent.

Changes, however, did not stop there. Not only was content radically modified but so too were methodology and field work. Henceforth, the work moved from the desk to the field[1] and now included a vast "army" of census workers in all states and territories of India, whose job it was to systematically gather the data for the questionnaire, after a thorough investigation of the situation in the field.

The operation was methodologically breaking new ground. Only a few surveys of this magnitude have been carried out in the field of sociolinguistics, and of those that have (Surveys of Ethiopia, Jordan, Kenya, etc.), few have gathered data on as wide a range of domains.[2] It is what Kloss (1986) would have termed an *interlingual*, sociolinguistic approach in the tradition of Weinreich and Fishman's "sociology of language". Many of these earlier surveys concentrated on an *intralingual* approach, based on structural differences within and between languages. When the concern became socially oriented, such surveys usually collected data on a few key domains, such as Education (Jordan Survey, 1975) or proposed figures on mother tongue population (Ethiopia 1976, Zambia 1978).

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[1] Data on Volume 1. The Americas, was gathered through correspondence with language specialists and agencies.

[2] The Canadian Commissions on Bilingualism and Biculturalism for French and English (federal) and The Gendron Commission covering the situation of French in Quebec (provincial) were not broader in scope than our own survey but in depth were more detailed.

The survey in India had a great advantage in this regard, as language data were already available through the census operation, which has long since celebrated its centenary in 1972. It was, therefore, more than just appropriate that the Census Office undertake this project as an extension of its day to day pan-Indian operations. The two facets; 1) census data (language statistics) and 2) social data on languages were nicely dovetailed together.

The survey was also particularly timely for India, as an earlier intralingual survey of impressive dimensions had already taken place - that of Sir George Grierson, who established an all-encompassing, classificatory and "mapping" system of the languages of India, which got its inspiration from 18-19th century etymological exploits in the discipline of linguistics. It was therefore timely, that a similar, sweeping study should again take place, based this time on an interlingual, sociolinguistic approach, which would highlight both *geolinguistic* and *sociolinguistic* profiles of the written languages of India and at the same time determine or establish language contact situations on a state-by-state and ultimately pan-Indian basis. Summarily, we could say that this survey has established a unique macro-sociolinguistic data bank, which should be an invaluable asset for evaluating present and future language policy and language planning in India. I would even go so far as to say,that it could well establish a blueprint at the nation (polity) level, which could act as a guide in language planning surveys for other countries in the world, if their policy makers are at all open to such pluralinguistic models. There is some evidence to suggest that mainland China is now practising a more diversified approach for its minorities than has heretofore been the case. The Indian study represents, a case in point, of a democratic, plurilingual approach, which if well planned and coordinated in its application, cannot fail to have an affect on pan-Indian progress and well-being for both language planning and nation planning.

In this regard India has always been a trailblazer regarding; 1) data gathering on languages (census), 2) survey studies (Grierson) and 3) a multilingual or plurilingual policy approach. This can be seen in the constitution in Articles (121(1), 343, 344, 348, 349, 351) for Hindi, in Articles (344(1), 351) for the constitutional (regional) languages and in Articles (29, 30, 350A), 35B(1,2) for all mother tongues. But above all, the plurilinguistic approach can be seen at work through the many democratic institutions of India and in the slow but gradual development of all her languages and her many language groups.

The basic aim, then, of this whole survey, is (to use an Indian expression) to give a fillip (a push) to the plurilingual approach or what Mahapatra (1982) covers the quotatum immediately below has indicated as a balanced development approach.

> Like most other multilingual countries of the world, here too [India], it is not only a question of how to develop a particular language, but also, how the various languages of our national heritage are to be planned without weakening the national fabric.

This balanced approach is not easy to attain and all the moreso, because of the natural growth in India of language and group cousciousness and because of it metaphorically fulfills a situation which is in constant flux.

It is my feeling that this survey may be termed a success, if it fulfills the role of a *milestone*, a *road map* and a *mirror* (this is no riddle!) - the milestone telling us "what we have accomplished thus far", the road map revealing "where we can go from here" and the whole acting as a sort of mirror, showing us future steps in language planning. In short, an indicator of past, present and future planning.

One further point should be made regarding language and national development strategies. I recently had the honour of attending an international conference in Hyderabad on *Language and National Development: the Case of India*. The theme was both provocative and interesting. Some 85 papers were presented over a five day period and many papers evoked the theme of "Language and National Development". Some papers presented the merits of plurilingualism and other saw it as a liability. This theme has been resounded and repeated in many conferences around the world and not least in my own country, Canada, where plurilingualism and particularly bilingualism have often been castigated in derogatory terms as too expensive, a waste of resources, disuniting and even unpatriotic. Such accusations fly in the face of common sense and of tolerance and even fly in the face of any *Real-politik*.

Since the 19th century rationalist movement, which originated in Europe and spread in waves along with colonialism throughout the world, we have witnessed worldwide a strong and powerful trend to uniformity in language communication. Each colonial power (British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, German, Russian and American) staked out its claim of backyard territory throughout the world, and this was followed by a uniformity in wider communication media on both the national and international scenes. During this same period, covering the last 200-300 years, many lesser languages and smaller peoples across the globe became partly absorbed, or dislocated or even disappeared in the process. They became victims of change and modernization. Capitalist countries saw such groups as expediant in the name of progress, Communist countries saw them as the remains of outmoded cultures and civilisations representing ways of life that were no longer in the vanguard of revolutionary and historical change. This trend, however, was not all negative. It did create new broader international and national networks of communication through international languages and stimulated a wider process of language standardization and literacy. At the same time it occasionally favored the spread to other languages, or of styles and forms more in keeping with the development and modernization movement. However,in the final decades of the 20th century a new grassroots wave, encouraging diversity, has arisen both within and between states. This has not and should not negate higher level uniformity but should complement it by adding a new dimension to the whole communication system. According to Dua (1985) "As policy of language use and level of language development are linked with each other, there is need to strike a delicate balance in favour of indigenous languages" (pp. 195-196). The point to be make here is, that a pluridimensional approach, taking into consideration local conditions, (which are also far from uniform) may not only be recommendable but may be the only realistic approach to solving the complex problem of pan-national communication and development in India.

One way our survey can contribute to the above change - to both diversity and uniformity - is through the geopolitical dimensions it portrays - both pan-Indian and regional. Although many papers in the Hyderabad conference indirectly addressed the theme of "Language and National Development", few attempted a direct analysis of the same, mainly because of a lack of substantive data on the macro level. Most papers were concerned with local descriptive studies, and a few with micro level quantitative data, which unfortunately could shed little light on the paradigm of language and national unity.

Our survey can make a contribution to any future discussion concerning language and national unity by first offering a macro data base regarding the complementary *roles* of languages and language *functions* in the global society. This in turn will enable us to prepare models of language contact, that can then be further investigated along with other broader models of an economic, political or sociological bent. In this way language type models can be used, having a broad social basis, and will be for the first time on the same conceptual plane as other types of models (e.g. economic, political or social). Predicting scenarios of language behavior or of behavior toward language, may be difficult, but surely no more difficult than predicting other scenarios containing only economic or political predictor variables. Then too, this approach may be more realistic than to portray models of just linguistic versus predictor variables -the latter being largely political, economic and social in type (Fishman, Cooper, Rosenbaun, 1977), as if language was only a dependent variable facing socioeconomic independent variables. Such models seem lopsided and incomplete in their conceptual orientation and need to be expanded as suggested above.

Needless to say, our survey presents but a beginning to this more global orientation, but if we pass along that road, we are more apt to find many more sociologists, political scientists and economists wanting to include language variables in their development models, than is the case today. The linguistic lobby would then no longer see itself as fighting the development battle alone or see itself excluded from the development battle of others, and for the first time, more linguistic and cultural variables will be included in country-wide development models, be they economic, sociological or political, than has heretofore been the case. Technology and its spread, or modernization is neither, if you will, is neither culturally or linguistically naive as many technocrats of development would have us believe. Development scenarios oblivious of this fact are surely doomed to failure in the long run. It is only through total societal development, including language and cultural development (and using more than one language or culture as a viable means of communication) that the overall development process in the world today can become a successful enterprise. It is only through the study of the total social field that real answers will be found to the language and national development question.

It is surely to the credit of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) that such a project as this has gained their support. It has provided a linguistic and cultural window to the nagging problem of development, which, as we have said, cannot by-pass language, nor literacy, nor plurilinguistic policy nor language planning, if it is to constitute a real grassroots development and not just a pseudo-mechanical surface phenomenon. Thanks should go today to our present registrar general, V.S. Verma, who happily is with us, and who through his good offices and encouragement has sanctioned the participation of the IDRC in the project, and as a result, has permitted us to have a more meaningful exchange of views and a continual collaboration on all levels over the past five years.

Last, but not least, the project and its teams represent an international effort, which has embellished both the work and the results obtained. Perhaps one dare hope that this even reflects, or is indicative of, a vast new international order in which the world's specialists will be working hand in hand on both national and global problems of development, which will be mutually edifying and benefical. Many of these problems can only be solved by taking a long, hard look at language development and the diversity which underlies it. Elsewhere, I have pointed out; "The non-cultivation of minority languages and groups, especially when numerically important, leads to disparities in group development and in the long run to a subsequent slowing of the modernization trend" (McConnell, 1989). With regard to language development, as Dua has pointed out, it is difficult to find a direct correlation between language and economic development. "It is not possible to verify this claim on the basis of any empirical findings" (p. 167). Pool and Fishman have long pondered the direct effect of language diversity on national development without arriving at conclusive evidence. To overcome this dilemma surveys like our own are a primordial step which can be used as a springboard to construct models of wider scope.

3. THE GOALS OF THE SURVEY

The survey's immediate goals were above all pragmatic, in other words some concrete objectives were to be obtained. This aim was uppermost in the minds of the linguists working on the project, and was also the main condition under which the IDRC agreed to participate in and support our efforts. The goal had to be one relating to development and the subject matter at hand was a sociolinguistic coverage of the written languages of India.

In speaking of surveys Ansre (1975) has said;

> "The main contribution that sociolinguistic studies can make to language planning and development is in the field of bringing the actual state of affairs existing in the society under study, to the notice of the policy maker [my underlining]."

This is in fact where those concerned with languages in the Government of India come into the picture. Such persons need not and in fact should not only be linguists and sociolinguists, but should include; 1) educationalists in the broad sense, 2) ethnographers and anthropologists concerned with the various cultures and tribal societies of India, 3) jurists and lawyers who are interested in language rights and their application and 4) not least of all, literacy specialists and teachers, who are busy developing and spreading the written or spoken forms of languages. We need not hardly be reminded here, that literacy represents not only a mode of expression and a language skill on the part of those who are literate, but constitutes also a new process in development, a new window, as it were, that can open up new possibilities of language style and create perspectives and challenges in new functions for those acquiring this skill. Literacy is not only a companion of the whole democratic process, to which both our countries are committed, but also an integral part of the development and modernization process to which we should also be committed with the same determination. This does not just mean imposition of a language from above, but also must include the development of a language from below or from within. In this way, as we saw in the first section of this presentation, there is room for multiculturalism and multilingualism just as much as there is room for languages of wider or narrower communication - in other words, a mosaic, in which each unit or entity has its unique but complementary role.

This is what the survey has tried to demonstrate, emulate and encourage and in this, it should be eminently beneficial i.e. what are the roles of each language in terms of *functions* filled and *products* generated? Over 50 years ago Grierson give us a linguistic map of India, today our survey presents us with a sociolinguistic portrait of the written languages of the country. We have satisfied the condition laid down above by Ansre; "bringing the actual state of affaires...to the notice of the policy maker".

But we have been successful in one other important respect, which touches on the methodology and what could be called the logistics of the survey. Dua (1985) has said;

> However, the techniques and methodology of the surveys [sociolinguistic] are not sufficiently sophisticated to make a full-scale description of language situations. (p. 113).

When Dua wrote these words, I would have tended to agree with him. However, since the completion of our survey work, I am much less convinced. True enough, techniques still need perfecting and true enough, we can quibble about the meaning of "full-scale" and claim that sample studies of cohorts were not carried out and neither were attitudinal studies undertaken. But our survey was "full-scale" in the sense that; 1) it covered an entire subcontinent, including all its subregions, 2) it covered a full range of public domains and 3) it also covered a full slate of written or incipient written languages, except two, namely Sanskrit and English. In order for our portrait to be complete, it would be highly desirable that these two languages be covered as well. This could be handled in a follow-up project, that is, if the policy maker (in this case the appropriate agency of the Indian Government) is so disposed and all of the present partners are willing.

3.1 Some Specific and Pragmatic Goals

The following are the pragmatic goals that were laid down or stipulated by the project's partners from the beginning.

1) Produce a list of the *written* and *incipient* written languages of India.
2) Produce a *supplementary* list of the *unwritten* languages of India.
3) Determine the role, both spoken and written, of each of the languages in a number of public domains of wider, social communication such as; government, courts, mass media, education, legislature, administration, manufacturing, sales and services.
4) Determine the *types* and *quantities* of written and oral production available in each of the languages covered by the study.
5) Hold a Round Table to discuss the results of the survey in terms of the initial goals.
6) Prepare a report, categorizing and analyzing the data, so that a diagnosis can be made regarding the broad social use of each language, by pinpointing domains, modes and functions where the languages are presently used or need further development.
7) Prepare a volume on the **Written Languages of India** as part of the world collection on the **Written Languages of the World**.

3.2 Some General Long Term Objectives; Practical and Scientific

One need not conclude from this sub-title that scientific objectives are unpractical. We use the word practical here in the sense of concrete or empirical, and scientific in the sense of conceptual or theoretical. First, let us look at the practical objectives, which of course we hope will give concrete results.

3.2.1 *Practical Benefits*

1) The survey results should act as a *stimulus* to language planning and language development activities in India, ranging from; 1) the official languages (Hindi and English), 2) the regional official languages, 3) the non-official mother tongues of India.

2) The survey results should open a *dialogue* first between language planners and their agencies and those working in the area of applied linguistics - ranging from language teaching methods, to problems of literacy, to production of written materials and manuals. Once educators and communications' experts become party to the debate, economists and political scientists should also be included as a second step. However, it is imperative that experts in all these fields have coordinated agencies or institutions within which they can operationalize and plan their work, rather than find themselves excluded from such work or find themselves working in individual cells cut off from specialists in connecting fields.

3) The survey provides a detailed description of language *functions* and *products* including a spectrum of the social usage of languages by: a) modes, b) domains, c) domain levels and d) state and territorial (geopolitical) units (see Note, Model 1) (World Globe). Hence, we now have a macro sociolinguistic data base through which specialists and technicians of different stripes can *diagnose* language development by means of the structure or model shown. This can reveal, as in a mirror, what has been accomplished and what remains to be done. It is only then that concerted action or implementation can be undertaken.

4) Subsequent *analyses* based on the data gathered, will enable specialists and government technicians to provide a measurement of language development in terms of a *vitality rating*. This will, of course, give a number of quantified measurements of usage for each language and at the same time allow for inter-lingual comparisons of vitality ratings in specific contact situations. Eventually, and as a subsequent step, vitality ratings can be monitored over time, diachronically, and this will become an important ingredient in measuring language maintenance, spread or attrition.

   Another subsequent *analysis*, based as much on geolinguistic profiles as on vitality ratings *per se*, should allow for a new approach to language contact situations through the construction of typologies that will be important for language development and planning.

5) Special attention needs to be given by language planners to *literacy* problems. But greater benefits can accrue from a more intensive cooperation and coordination of all those agencies and specialists of various stripes (educationalists, communicators, etc.) working in the domain of *literacy*. It is also time; "that consistant efforts should be made in maintaining co-ordination between language development, production of necessary literature and gradual extension of language use (Dua, 1985, p. 196)". In this balancing act literacy definitely has a role to play. As our survey covers public schools and learning institutions on all levels (Question #10) from primary school to university, it can easily be seen which languages have benefited most from literacy and educational programs. This is also reflected in the types, quantities and levels of usage of both manuals and readers (Question #8.2), in written production (Question #6.3) and even in the availability of basic types of descriptive studies such as dictionaries or grammars (Question #19.12), or even phonologies (Question #3.2). It can be seen that although progress has and is being made, much remains to be done for the minor vernaculars or mother tongues. The above underlines this survey's descriptive sociolinguistic sociolinguistic objective of determining *what* language is taught *where*? (what place[3]), *what way* (media, subject) and to *how many*? (schools, pupils). The problem of an adequately trained teaching staff, although not directly tackled in this survey is certainly a by-product of the effort put into the

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[3] Geographical, institutional.

educational development of each language. Note Table 1 (see Appendix) gives an overview of some products and functions of minor languages in the questions mentioned above.

A final word should be said here on literacy, which should find the support of those working in this area, namely; "the rate of literacy is taken in terms of states and union territories and not the mother tongue." (Mahapatra, 1988). To my knowledge the only literacy rates recorded in India apart from regional (state) rates are those given for a selection of minority communities fitting under the label of scheduled tribes:[4] Tribal groups that are not scheduled are not included in the literacy data and the same tribe may be scheduled in one state and not in a second, where it is also located. The attempt to record literacy rates by language or even mother tongue should be extended first to include all language groups in their principal regions of residence and then all language groups in the diaspora. This would be tantamount to highlighting the importance of literacy not only in education but as a political and national goal of the country, as it is purported to be. Census data on this important item is far too scanty.

6) The survey also emphasizes *standardization* (Question #5), which depends upon a spoken, but particularly a written norm. According to Kloss (1986) vernaculars and dialects are speech varieties which lack a standard. For him a standard (in commenting on Stewart's (1968) use of the term) hardly requires defining but should not be confused with official language.

   Of course, it is difficult sometimes, and particularly in the case of developing languages, to declare them to be standard or not, in a dichotomous type relationship. It is often a question of degree of standardization, especially when a particular written or spoken form is not widely known, understood or accepted by the total mother tongue community - (Sprachgemeinschaft[5] to use a Klossian term). Illiteracy creates an imbalance in the standardization process, in that it becomes an elite phenomenon restricted to the higher socio-economic classes and hence does not spread to the whole society. Illiteracy also sustains the gap or distance between spoken and written forms of the same language, which the modernization process tries to overcome.

   Standardization also depends on the existence and availability of standardization tools, such as dictionnaires, grammars and readers, but it goes beyond that, to the availability of mass media (newspapers, radio, t.v.), which are all important for the spread and recognition of a general written and spoken standard. Although our survey makes a formal statement regarding standardization for each language (Question #5.2), it could be said that the whole questionnaire and resulting data base, reflects the whole standardization and development process as a reiterative and building-up Ausbau process.

7) Although the survey is obviously directly concerned with the language development process, this cannot, as is sometimes assumed, be divorced from problems of overall *societal development*. As we have seen, even modern technology supported by the rationalist movement of uniformity in language use, has only had a limited success in spreading through Third World Regions. Witness the breakdown of standardized languages such as English and French into Pidgins in Africa and the relatively greater vitality of these pidgins; or the "greenhouse" effect of carefully

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[4] Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes, Census of India 1971, RGCC. Series 1, Paper 1 of 1975, 169 p.

[5] This includes both basilects and sociolects.

tended international langues, that seem, however, unable to adapt or be adopted for either affective and cognitive functions by the mass of the population for broad, social and public uses.

Although more studies need to be undertaken, by more and different types of specialists, on the detrimental, economic and social effects of breakdown in language and cultural communication (note the model of peripheral vs core development, Dorian, 1981), the results of this are clearly seen in many countries by marginalized, backward and broken communities on the one hand and privileged communities on the other. Although we cannot take for granted, the role of language in economic development and all the more so in national development - a direct or even indirect correlation still needs to be clearly and empirically demonstrated -this project and this data base on macro language functions is fundamental to further empirical findings in this area, in that it establishes clearly the social dimensions and profiles of language use, upon which future socioeconomic and political studies in development can be based.

3.2.2 *Scientific Benefits*

1) The survey has been scientifically innovative in that it sets up a *descriptive grid of language functions and products across societal domains (institutions) and geo-political units*. This enables us to determine and then compare language usage on a broad social scale. Although micro-sociolinguistic studies are well advanced on a narrow social cale based on *locale* situations, macro-sociolinguistic studies based on domains have been less bold in their development. Part of the reason for this lag in macro studies is due to the difficulties inherent in dealing with large social agglomerations or constellations (Fishman, 1972), with problems inherent in sampling and comparability of results across time and space, not to speak about financing and operational problems. Part of the difficulty has also been due to the concept of domain, which according to Cooper (1982) is more difficult to operationalize than the more easily constructed *locale* situation. We feel that through the Indian survey we have demonstrated it can be operationalized regardless of inherent qualitative differencies in the same domain across cultures, communities and languages.

2) The Indian survey, by "mapping out" in some detail functional usage, including a quantification of language products e.g. films, books, movies, etc., has led to two results. First, it has offered the possibility of *quantifying functional* usage both in terms of extensiveness (inter-domain and inter-polity) and frequency of usage. The same can be said for institutional products and their quantification. This allows for the measurement or weighting of this usage either in *relative* (presence or absence) or *absolute* (quantity) terms. Recent analyses carried out at the CIRB have permitted us to develop further the concept of *relative vitality* which is important for comparing languages across geo-political and administrative units, such as states or territories. Later, we hope further work can be done on absolute vitality scores. For a list of some vitality scores for a major (Hindi) and minor (Lushai/Mizo) language see Note Tables 2.1 and 2.2 in the Appendix.

As we have noted, vitality ratings constitute a useful comparative instrument for any two language diasystems and at a later stage for any number of varieties (basilects or sociolects) of the same diasystem. Such ratings will be particularly useful in context i.e. *language contact situations* for comparing both functional redundancy and functional complementarity of language usage in any particular setting. In other words a sort of functional grid can be set up to determine functions that are unique to a language and those that are common to several languages. When seen in terms of horizontal (range) and vertical (levels) dimensions, hypotheses can be proposed regarding the degree of autonomy or interdependance of language diasystems. This in fact satisfies one of the goals of sociolinguistics, that of isolating, then comparing, the functional characteristics of language diasystems. (Note Table 3, Appendix).

3) The macro-sociolinguistic survey of the **Written Languages of India** should also allow us, on the basis of the language contact situations uncovered, to establish types of *contact situations*, based on inductive procedures eminating from the data base. This, with time, can be built up to establish a typology of contact situations, based on these inductive procedures, but can also usefully be compared with some deductively based typologies suggested in the literature (Kloss, 1966; Stewart, 1962; Johnson, 1977, Fishman,1968). A comparison of the criteria used in each of the ratiocination processes could result in a fruitful analysis of vitality criteria and contextual criteria, which would be useful for future model building with regard to a theory of language in society.

4) This survey has allowed us to envisage from a new vantage point, another basic theoretical problem of sociolinguistics, namely; the effect of *contextual (external) variables* on language form and function. This approach is strongly emphasized in the tradition of the sociology of language (Fishman, 1971). Given the perspective described earlier, the Indian project is in a good position to pursue this theoretical problem, but on a practical testing basis. There have been many warnings sounded (Lieberson; 1981, Emeneau 1980) on the non-linear effect of the former on the latter. In the context of this project some types of contextual variables e.g. demographic, can be tested using regression analysis models to determine their influence on the vitality rates of the languages found in any particular context situation. Preliminary tests on the Indian data suggest that variable influence may be determined by the type of contact situation. In other words the same variable, e.g. bilingualism may influence vitality both positively or negatively according to the type of contact pattern found. This concords with Kloss's hypothesis (1966) to the effect that the same variable may have both a positive and a negative role in language maintenance depending upon the contact situation.

5) The operations described above regarding functions, vitality, contextual variables and contact situations, etc. should permit a more systematic organization of the data, which can lead to model building and theory building that is empirically based. This should enable the sociology of language to move toward a clearer formulation of a theory of language in society.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Our conclusions will be brief because in a sense the whole paper is a recapitulation of the objectives and aims of the project - hence we are here giving conclusions of conclusions.

Suffice it to say, that some seven years have gone into the planning and the execution of the project. This has produced an important bank of sociolinguistic data on language functions, as can be physically seen by the pile of 1 600 pages of language reports, not to speak of many secondary analyses, that will be or have already been undertaken. This surely should be enough to satisfy any scientific instinct that we as sociolinguists and educationalists might have. However much this may constitute a scientific *conclusion*, it can hardy replace important spin-off effects that we hope will now take place in both government and non-government circles alike, and without which, our scientific fact finding mission can only be a partial success. At this climax (so to speak) of the project on the **Written Language of India**, it is my one final and fervant hope that what will take place from here on, regarding the language planning effort in India, will justify the effort that has already been made here.

In closing let me thank all of you who have worked on the project, both at a distance or in a more intimate way, for a really remarkable job. In a paraphrase we can truly say, that *much* was done by a *few* for so *many*. We hope that this effort will be vindicated by future events.

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APPENDIX

Table 1

Minor Languages	SCHOOLS - Q#10				Written Production[1] Q#6.31	Descrip. Works[2] Q#19.12	Descrip. Phonology Q#5.2
	Prim. Q#10.1	Midd. Q#10.2	Sec. Q#10.3	Adult Q#10.114			
Lushai/Mizo	SM	SM	SM	SM	913	10	yes
Santali	SM	SM	M		177	11	yes
Sindi	SM	SM	SM	M	620	15	yes
Khezha	SM	M		M	10	3	N.A.
Phom	SM	M			6	4	N.A.
Kashmiri	M		M		650	6	yes
Bodo/Boro	SM	SM	SM	SM	123	9	yes
Lotha	SM	M	M	SM	18	5	yes
Mikir	SM			SM	53	2	yes
Sangtam	SM	M			8	1	N.A.
Dimasa	M			SM	15	4	N.A.
Tangkhul	SM			M	78	3	yes
Sema	SM	M	SM		24	4	yes
Ao	SM	M	SM	M	28	4	yes
Angami	SM	M	SM	M	79	6	yes
Dogri	SM		SM		312	2	N.A.
Thado	SM			M	129	7	yes
Bishnupuriya	SM				35	3	yes
Nicobarese	SM			SM	9	7	yes
Konyak	SM	M		M	15	3	yes
Kabui	M				27	2	yes
Ladakhi	SM	SM	SM	SM	362	7	yes
Tripuri	SM			SM	31	5	yes
Kharia	SM				23	6	yes
Khasi	SM	SM	SM	SM	1086	7	yes
Manipuri/Meithei	SM	S	SM		630	10	yes
Garo	SM	SM	SM	SM	301	12	yes
Lepcha	SM	M	SM		19	3	yes
Hmar	SM	SM	SM	SM	198	3	N.A.
Bhili/Bhilodi	SM			M	36	6	yes
Ho	M			M	23	6	yes
Tulu					258	7	yes
Konkani	SM	S	SM	SM	1085	23	yes
Bhotia	SM	M	SM	M	24	2	N.A.
Kurukh/Oraon	SM				35	10	yes
Mundari					30	13	yes
Gondi	SM				14	6	yes
Gorkhali/Nepali	SM	SM	SM	SM	684	21	yes

S : *Presence of schools.*
M : *Presence of school manuals.*
yes : *Phonology present.*
N.A. : *Phonology not available.*

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[1] *Total Books*

[2] *Dictionaries, grammars, etc.*

Table 2.1

VITALITY SCORES FOR LUSHAI / MIZO

Region : Mizoram

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	6.67/20	7.50/20	14.17/40
Mass-Media	12.00/20	6.00/20	18.00/40
Administration	1.25/20	10.24/20	11.49/40
Courts of Justice	2.67/20	3.33/20	6.00/40
Legislature	1.33/20	8.00/20	9.33/40
Manufacturing Industries	2.00/20	1.33/20	3.33/40
Services/Sales Industries	1.71/20	1.33/20	3.05/40
Totals	47.63/160	57.73/160	105.37/320

Region : Manipur

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	0.67/20	0.00/20	0.67/40
Mass-Media	3.33/20	3.00/20	6.33/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	24.00/160	23.00/160	47.00/320

Region : Tripura

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	6.00/20	6.00/40
Mass-Media	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	12.00/160	6.00/160	18.00/320

Region : Assam

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Mass-Media	2.00/20	0.00/20	2.00/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	14.00/160	0.00/160	14.00/320

Table 2.2

VITALITY SCORES FOR HINDI

Region : U.P.

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Mass-Media	10.67/20	20.00/20	30.67/40
Administration	17.79/20	19.67/20	37.46/40
Courts of Justice	10.00/20	10.00/20	20.00/40
Legislature	8.00/20	8.00/20	16.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	18.57/20	13.33/20	31.90/40
Services/Sales Industries	18.86/20	20.00/20	38.86/40
Totals	123.89/160	131.00/160	254.89/320

Region : Rajasthan

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Mass-Media	11.33/20	20.00/20	31.33/40
Administration	17.79/20	19.67/20	37.46/40
Courts of Justice	10.00/20	10.00/20	20.00/40
Legislature	8.00/20	8.00/20	16.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	18.57/20	13.33/20	31.90/40
Services/Sales Industries	17.43/20	20.00/20	37.43/40
Totals	123.12/160	131.00/160	254.12/320

Region : M.P.

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Mass-Media	10.67/20	10.00/20	20.67/40
Administration	17.79/20	19.67/20	37.46/40
Courts of Justice	10.00/20	10.00/20	20.00/40
Legislature	8.00/20	8.00/20	16.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	18.57/20	13.33/20	31.90/40
Services/Sales Industries	18.86/20	20.00/20	38.86/40
Totals	123.89/160	121.00/160	244.89/320

Region : Bihar

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Mass-Media	10.67/20	10.00/20	20.67/40
Administration	17.79/20	19.67/20	37.46/40
Courts of Justice	10.00/20	10.00/20	20.00/40
Legislature	8.00/20	8.00/20	16.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	18.57/20	13.33/20	31.90/40
Services/Sales Industries	18.86/20	20.00/20	38.86/40
Totals	123.89/160	121.00/160	244.89/320

Table 2.2 (Contd)

VITALITY SCORES FOR HINDI

Region : Delhi

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	15.33/20	20.00/20	35.33/40
Mass-Media	13.33/20	20.00/20	33.33/40
Administration	17.79/20	19.67/20	37.46/40
Courts of Justice	2.00/20	4.67/20	6.67/40
Legislature	8.00/20	14.00/20	22.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	18.57/20	13.33/20	31.90/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	17.14/20	20.00/20	37.14/40
Totals	112.16/160	131.67/160	243.83/320

Region : Haryana

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Mass-Media	10.00/20	10.00/20	20.00/40
Administration	17.79/20	19.67/20	37.46/40
Courts of Justice	8.00/20	8.00/20	16.00/40
Legislature	8.00/20	8.00/20	16.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	18.57/20	13.33/20	31.90/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	18.86/20	20.00/20	38.86/40
Totals	121.22/160	119.00/160	240.22/320

Region : H.P.

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	10.00/20	20.00/20	30.00/40
Mass-Media	8.67/20	10.00/20	18.67/40
Administration	17.19/20	19.67/20	36.86/40
Courts of Justice	6.00/20	8.00/20	14.00/40
Legislature	8.00/20	8.00/20	16.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	18.57/20	13.33/20	31.90/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	18.86/20	20.00/20	38.86/40
Totals	107.29/160	119.00/160	226.29/320

Region : Chandigarh

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	20.00/20	11.00/20	31.00/40
Mass-Media	13.33/20	10.00/20	23.33/40
Administration	9.40/20	15.10/20	24.50/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	2.00/20	2.00/40
Legislature	5.33/20	8.00/20	13.33/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	10.29/20	12.00/20	22.29/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	10.57/20	18.33/20	28.90/40
Totals	88.92/160	96.43/160	185.35/320

Table 2.2 (Contd)

VITALITY SCORES FOR HINDI

Region : Punjab

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	16.67/20	14.00/20	30.67/40
Mass-Media	8.67/20	20.00/20	28.67/40
Administration	2.22/20	14.10/20	16.32/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	2.00/20	2.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	4.00/20	4.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	8.86/20	5.33/20	14.19/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	10.14/20	11.00/20	21.14/40
Totals	66.56/160	90.43/160	156.99/320

Region : Assam

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	13.33/20	20.00/20	33.33/40
Mass-Media	6.67/20	10.00/20	16.67/40
Administration	2.22/20	5.71/20	7.94/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	8.86/20	5.33/20	14.19/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	10.14/20	11.00/20	21.14/40
Totals	61.22/160	72.04/160	133.27/320

Region : Karnataka

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	10.67/20	20.00/20	30.67/40
Mass-Media	8.67/20	10.00/20	18.67/40
Administration	2.22/20	5.71/20	7.94/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	8.86/20	5.33/20	14.19/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	10.14/20	11.00/20	21.14/40
Totals	60.56/160	72.04/160	132.61/320

Region : Maharashtra

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	10.00/20	8.00/20	18.00/40
Mass-Media	10.67/20	15.00/20	25.67/40
Administration	2.22/20	5.71/20	7.94/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	8.86/20	5.33/20	14.19/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	10.14/20	11.00/20	21.14/40
Totals	61.89/160	65.04/160	126.94/320

Table 2.2 (Contd)

VITALITY SCORES FOR HINDI

Region : West Bengal

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	10.00/20	14.00/20	24.00/40
Mass-Media	10.67/20	5.71/20	16.38/40
Administration	2.22/20	5.71/20	7.94/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	8.86/20	5.33/20	14.19/40
Services/Sales Industries	10.14/20	11.00/20	21.14/40
Totals	61.89/160	61.75/160	123.65/320

Region : Gujarat

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	6.00/20	8.00/20	14.00/40
Mass-Media	6.67/20	10.00/20	16.67/40
Administration	2.52/20	6.14/20	8.67/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	8.86/20	5.33/20	14.19/40
Services/Sales Industries	10.14/20	11.00/20	21.14/40
Totals	54.19/160	60.47/160	114.67/320

Region : Andhra Pradesh

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	3.33/20	8.00/20	11.33/40
Mass-Media	8.67/20	10.00/20	18.67/40
Administration	2.22/20	5.71/20	7.94/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	8.86/20	5.33/20	14.19/40
Services/Sales Industries	10.14/20	11.00/20	21.14/40
Totals	53.22/160	60.04/160	113.27/320

Region : Orissa

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	1.33/20	8.00/20	9.33/40
Mass-Media	6.67/20	10.00/20	16.67/40
Administration	2.22/20	5.71/20	7.94/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	8.86/20	5.33/20	14.19/40
Services/Sales Industries	10.14/20	11.00/20	21.14/40
Totals	49.22/160	60.04/160	109.27/320

Table 2.2 (Contd)

VITALITY SCORES FOR HINDI

Region : Jammu + Kashmir

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	20.00/20	20.00/20	40.00/40
Schools	2.00/20	2.00/20	4.00/40
Mass-Media	10.00/20	10.00/20	20.00/40
Administration	2.22/20	5.71/20	7.94/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	8.86/20	5.33/20	14.19/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	10.14/20	11.00/20	21.14/40
Totals	53.22/160	54.04/160	107.27/320

Region : Kerala

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	8.00/20	8.00/40
Mass-Media	6.67/20	4.00/20	10.67/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	18.67/160	12.00/160	30.67/320

Region : Tamilnadu

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	8.00/20	8.00/40
Mass-Media	3.33/20	4.00/20	7.33/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	15.33/160	12.00/160	27.33/320

Region : Andaman + N.Islands

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	6.00/20	6.00/40
Mass-Media	3.33/20	4.00/20	7.33/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	15.33/160	10.00/160	25.33/320

Table 2.2 (Contd)

VITALITY SCORES FOR HINDI

Region : Manipur

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	[illegible].00/20	8.00/40
Mass-Media	0.00/20	4.00/20	4.00/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	12.00/160	12.00/160	24.00/320

Region : Meghalaya

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	8.00/20	8.00/40
Mass-Media	0.00/20	4.00/20	4.00/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	12.00/160	12.00/160	24.00/320

Region : Nagaland

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	6.00/20	6.00/40
Mass-Media	0.00/20	4.00/20	4.00/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	12.00/160	10.00/160	22.00/320

Region : Mizoram

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	2.00/20	2.00/40
Mass-Media	0.00/20	4.00/20	4.00/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries ...	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries ..	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	12.00/160	6.00/160	18.00/320

Table 2.2 (Contd)

VITALITY SCORES FOR HINDI

Region : Tripura

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	2.00/20	2.00/40
Mass-Media	0.00/20	4.00/20	4.00/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	12.00/160	6.00/160	18.00/320

Region : Goa

DOMAINS	WRITTEN	ORAL	GLOBAL
Religion	12.00/20	0.00/20	12.00/40
Schools	0.00/20	2.00/20	2.00/40
Mass-Media	0.00/20	4.00/20	4.00/40
Administration	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Courts of Justice	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Legislature	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Manufacturing Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Services/Sales Industries	0.00/20	0.00/20	0.00/40
Totals	12.00/160	6.00/160	18.00/320

APPENDIX

Model 1

ILLUSTRATED MODEL OF LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT: VITALITY

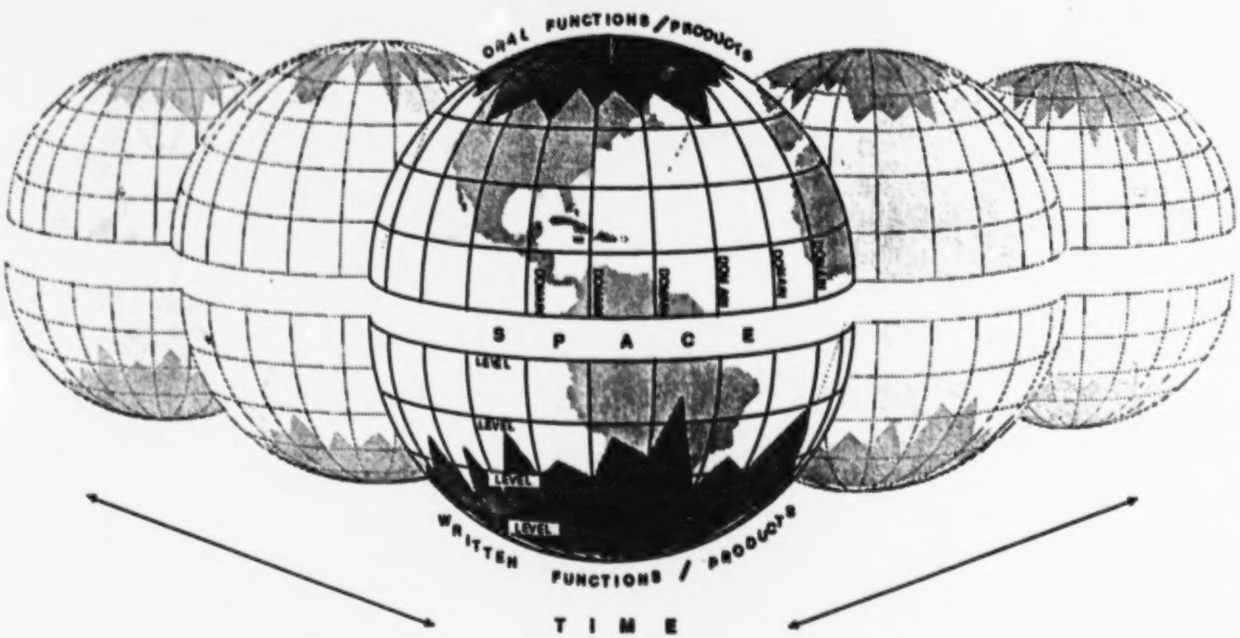
ORAL FUNCTIONS/PRODUCTS
DOMAIN
DOMAIN
DOMAIN
DOMAIN
DOMAIN
SPACE
LEVEL
LEVEL
LEVEL
LEVEL
WRITTEN FUNCTIONS / PRODUCTS
TIME

Table 3

FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LANGUAGES BY GEOPOLITICAL LIMITS

DOMAINE : Schools
MODE : Written
LEVEL : Secondary
FUNCTION : Physical Sciences

Legend:
P = Presence (School manuals)
a = Absence (School manuals)
? = Information not available
. = Non-applicable
- = No information

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Ansaman + N.Islands	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Andhra Pradesh	.	.	.	-	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	-	a	.	a	-	P	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Arunachal Pradesh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Assam	-	-	P	.	.	P	.	.	.	P	.	-	.	.	.	a	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.
Bihar	.	-	-	.	.	P	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	a	-	.	-	.	.	.	-	.	.
Chandigarh	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	P	.	.	.	.	.	.
Dagra Nagar Haveli	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Delhi	.	.	-	-	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	.
Goa	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	a	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gujarat	.	.	.	P	.	.	P	.	.	.	.	.	-	P	.	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
H.P.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	-
Haryana	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.
Jammu + Kashmir	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	-
Karnataka	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	-	.	a	.	-	-	P	-	.	.	.	.	.	.
Kerala	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	P	-	.	.	P	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Lakshadeep	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
M.P.	.	.	.	-	.	?	a	.	.	.	.	.	.	a	.	-	-	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.
Maharashtra	.	.	.	P	.	-	P	.	.	.	.	.	-	P	.	.	-	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	.
Manipur	-	.	-	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.
Meghalaya	.	.	-	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Mizoram	-	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Nagaland	.	.	-	.	-	-	.	-	.	.	-	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	-	.
Orissa	.	-	-	.	.	?	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	P	.	P	.	.	.	.	-	.	.
Pondichery	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Punjab	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	P	.	.	.	.	.	-
Rajasthan	.	.	.	-	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.
Sikkim	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Tamilnadu	.	.	.	.	.	-	a	.	.	.	.	.	-	-	.	.	P	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Tripura	-	.	.	.	.	P	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
U.P.	.	.	.	-	.	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	-	-	.	-	.	.	.	.	.	.
West Bengal	.	-	-	-	.	P	-	.	.	.	.	.	-	.	.	a	-	-	-	.	.	.	.	.	.

Parameters of Language Inequality

B.P. Mahapatra

The saying "All languages are equal" is half a truth, the other half being "languages are unequal". The notion of equality of languages arises from the inherent nature of the human language, i.e. "A language is a system" (Block and Trager, 1942, p. 5). Distinguishing the human "communicative system" from other non-human systems, Hockett isolates seven properties of the former, which are: 1) duality, 2) productivity, 3) arbitrariness, 4) interchangeability, 5) specialization, 6) displacement, and 7) cultural transmission (1958, p. 574). A more characterizing concept "creativity" has been advanced by Chomsky. "This creative aspect of normal language use is one fundamental factor that distinguishes human language from any known system of animal communication" (1972, p. 100). But, given the nature of man and his various socio-political organizations, "all languages are equal" is as much non-existent a truth as "all men are equal". Even the language policy of the U.S.S.R. (which drastically changed the pre-Revolution language policy of the Russian Empire, i.e. Russian was the official language for almost the whole of the Russian Empire), adopted the general new social policy of equality of all peoples and of all languages by declaring: firstly, that the new state was to have no official language; secondly, everyone was to have the right to use his own language, both for private and public matters; and thirdly, everyone was to have the right to education and availability of cultural materials in his own language. Many amendments to these laudable goals had to be made under pressure of practical concerns (Comrie, 1981, p. 24), the foremost among which, was the need to unify the country. Nevertheless, the Soviet language policy is contrasted by some to the policy of "Americanization" or "national monolingualism", which is directed at restricting the sphere of use of the native language of national minorities (Svejcer, 1977, p. 128). Under these contrasting conditions, which are not unique to the U.S.S.R. or the U.S.A., human languages in spite of their inherent equality, are subjected to rankings of various sorts. Thus a multilingual country is likely to present a complex mosaic, where no two languages share the same niche. Therefore, there is a need for a matrix along which languages can be compared, so that a *sociolinguistic typology* of languages can be developed and language planning measures can be oriented towards desired goals. A sociolinguistic typology distinct from a structural typology, i.e. classifying languages on the basis of the differences and similarities of their structural properties, builds its classification scheme on the basis of such sociolinguistic indices as, the *status* of the language, its *structural autonomy* and its *societal functions*. These indices roughly correspond to the three broad sociolinguistic dimensions of language, i.e. *juridical*, *linguistic* and *sociological*. A fourth dimension which also plays a dominant role in language comparison is *demographic*, otherwise known as language statistics (Kloss, McConnell, 1974, p. 8). In spite of many conceptual obstacles one is likely to meet, in making a comparision of language statistics across countries (and sometime in the same country across enumeration years), some of the statistical categories remain fairly stable and widespread. These categories are: 1) mother tongue or its variations and 2) other language/languages known or bilingualism. Both these concepts, mother tongue and bilingualism, play significant roles in planning ethnolinguistic identity, since language and identity are inter-related (Pool, 1979, p. 5; Mahapatra, 1981) more so in India, where for all groups other than the Scheduled tribes, the only identity token provided to a group is its mother tongue. In terms of language identity, some two-hundred linguistic communities in India may be identified. Those such as Andamanese, Onge, Didey, Toda, are as few as a couple of hundreds, have only a couple of hundred speakers, while others claim 3 to 30 percent of the total Indian population. This inequality in speaker strength has given rise to a recent and arbitrary threshold of 10,000 speakers; linguistic groups falling below that number might be passed over. In fact, there is no official inventory of languages spoken in India. The only list of languages is provided by the Indian census with their speaker strengths, divided strictly along the line of the Indian constitution as scheduled and non-scheduled languages. Apparently, the list for the non-scheduled languages is an open one, i.e. languages belonging to this category appear or disappear as the case may be, depending upon the strength of their returns.

Nevertheless, the only official data on Indian languages is the Indian census reports on mother tongue carried out every ten years fairly systematically from 1901 until today date (except for the decade 1941). The other break in this record is the partition of the country in 1947, giving rise to Pakistan. These census reports are a natural starting place, as Fishman has claimed, for the American census reports, for tracing the trends of language maintenance and shift in India (Fishman, 1966, p. 34). Of these two hundred odd languages, which gave a steady census history from 1901 through 1961, nearly half of them were suppressed in 1971, because they do not show a speaker strength of 10,000 and over. For all practical purposes, they do not exist. The rest of the languages are divided into two categories, i.e scheduled and non-scheduled. The fifteen scheduled languages taken together command a domineering 95% share of the total population; the rest of the languages form a mere 5%. In terms of stability, the scheduled languages have also shown a healthy growth rate of 20 -30 percent or more, between '61 and '91. On the other hand, the non-scheduled languages greatly fluctuate; in fact many of them are in a declining track. Many of these languages such as; Juang, Coorgi/Kodagu, Koda/Kora, Gadaba, Korwa, Kuki or Lalung are in this category. The following Table 1 is a comparative chart of scheduled and some non-scheduled languages showing the pattern of their growth or loss between 1901 and 1971.

Table 1:

MOTHER TONGUE STRENGTH OF SOME SCHEDULED/NON-SCHEDULED LANGUAGES FOR 1901, 1961 AND 1971 CEN????, GIVING 1961-1971 DECADE INCREASE (%)

	1901	1961	1971	Decade Variation
a) Scheduled Languages:				
Assamese	*1,350,846	6,803,465	8,959,558	+31.69
Bengali	44,624,048	33,888,939	44,792,312	+32.17
Gujarati	*8,677,255	20,304,464	25,865,012	+27.39
Hindi	*111,329,799	*168,479,970	208,514,005	+23.76
Kannada	10,365,047	17,415,827	21,710,649	+24.66
Malayalam	6,029,304	17,015,782	21,938,760	+28.93
Marathi	*17,702,990	*32,919,476	41,765,190	+26.87
Oriya	9,687,429	15,719,398	19,863,198	+26.36
Punjabi	*16,612,214	*10,943,018	14,108,443	+28.93
Tamil	16,525,500	30,562,698	37,690,106	+23.32
Telugu	20,696,872	37,668,132	44,756,923	+18.82
Urdu		23,323,518	28,620,895	+22.71
b) Non-Scheduled Languages:				
Bhumij	*111,304	142,003	51,651	-63.63
Juang	10,853	15,795	12,172	-22.94
Coorgi/Kodagu	39,191	79,172	72,085	-8.95
Koda/Kora	23,873	31,724	14,333	-54.82
Gadaba	37,230	40,193	20,420	-49.20
Korwa	16,442	17,720	15,097	-14.80
Kuki	53,880	28,943	32,560	+12.50
Lalung	16,414	10,576	10,650	+0.70

* Indicates recast date.

The other statistical imbalance is in the number of second language speakers as compared to total speakers. In the case of a language such as English, total speaker strength exceeds 250 million of whom 99.24 have learned it as a second language, or are second language speakers - a fact which adds to the tremendous prestige of English in India. In the case of other Indian languages, the number of second language speakers is extremely low, i.e. a vast majority of speakers are mother tongue speakers, as no Indian language, barring a few exceptions, attracts non-native, second language speakers. The following Table 2 gives these statistics.

Table 2:

SECOND LANGUAGE SPEAKER STRENGTH AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SPEAKER STRENGTH FOR SCHEDULED LANGUAGES (CENSUS 1971)

Language	Total Speakers	Second Language Speakers	Percentage (%)
Assamese	10,805,126	1,845,568	17.08
Bengali	47,132,270	2,339,958	4.96
Gujarati	26,597,170	732,158	2.83
Hindi	226,134,788	17,620,783	7.79
Kannada	26,331,783	4,621,134	17.55
Kashmiri	2,519,489	24,002	0.96
Malayalam	22,233,857	295,097	1.32
Marathi	44,794,007	3,028,817	6.76
Oriya	21,080,439	1,217,241	5.77
Punjabi	15,018,402	909,959	6.06
Sindhi	1,751,356	74,481	4.25
Tamil	42,294,708	4,604,602	10.89
Telugu	48,940,119	4,183,196	8.55
Urdu	31,105,947	2,485,052	7.99

As we have said already, in the modern world and in a multilingual country like India, languages are invariably placed on a status-based ranking, no matter what ideologies they foster. The Indian Constitution, which is the fountainhead of official language policy, grants primary status-oriented juridical classification to Indian languages (Munshi and Chakraborty, 1979; Mahapatra, 1986). The specific provisions contained in the constitution of India on the language question are to be found in Part XVII, entitled, "Official Language". These provisions (Articles 343 to 351), are organized in four chapters as follows: Chapter I, Language of the Union (Articles 343,344); Chapter II, Regional Languages (Articles 341-347); Chapter III, Language of the Supreme Court, High Courts, etc. (Articles 348, 349); and Chapter IV, Special Directives (Articles 350, 351). Firstly to Articles 344(1) and 351 of the constitution has been appended the Eighth Schedule. This juridical classification is a two-tiered system prescribing Hindi in Devanagari Script as the official language, subject to the continuance of English for official purposes for a limited period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution (Article 343). Secondly, Article 345 allows State legislatures to adopt any one or more languages in use in a State (or Hindi) for all official purposes in place of English. In view of this provision, most states have passed specific legislation declaring state official languages (a full list of which may be seen in the 23rd Report for Linguistic Minorities in India). However, it may be noted that, except for Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali in Sikkim; Lushai/Mizo in the districts of Aizwal and Lunglei in Mizoram; Manipuri/Meithi in Manipur and Nepali in the three subdivisions of the district of Darjeeling in West Bengal, regional official status is mainly restricted to the Schedule VIII languages. Sanskrit, Sindhi and Kashmiri are three lone exceptions in having no regional or sub-regional official status. The following Table 3 gives the juridical status of these Indian languages:

Table 3:

REGIONAL STATUS OF SCHEDULED LANGUAGES WITH ENACTMENT DATES

Name of the language	Constitutional Status	Regional Official language	Sub-regional Official	Date of Enactment & Gazette Notification
Assamese	VIII schedule	Assam		Assam State Legislation Act of 1960, 19.12.66
Bengali	VIII schedule	West Bengal		West Bengal Official Language Act (XXIV) of 1961
		Tripura	In the district of Cachar, Assam	N.A., Assam Act No. XXXIII of 1960
Gujarati	VIII schedule	Gujarat		Nos. 1-61, 15.2.61
Hindi	Official language of the Indian Union, VIII schedule			Constitution of India, pt. XVII (343) Language Act, 1963
		U.P.		Act. No. XXVI of 1951
		Bihar		Bihar Official Language Act, 1950
		M.P.		The M.P. Official Language Act of 1957
		Rajasthan		Law of Judicial Dept. Notification No. F4 (39) LJ/A/56 dt. 29.12.56
		Haryana		March 5, 1969
		Himachal Pradesh		No.10-5/65 SAI dt. 25.1.65
		Delhi		N.A.
		Chandigarh		N.A.
		Gujarat		Act. No.1 of 1961 15.2.61
			In some regions of Karnataka	Sectt No. DPAR bLML 83 dt. 8.3.83

Name of the language	Constitutional Status	Regional Official language	Sub-regional Official	Date of Enactment & Gazette Notification
Kannada	VIII schedule	Karnataka		N.A.
Kashmiri	VIII schedule			
Malayalam	VIII schedule	Kerala		GO(P) No.647/65/PD dt. 19.10.65 and No.159166/PD dt. 19.4.66
			Mahe in Pondicherry	Act 3 of 1965 dt. 3.4.65
			Karnataka	Sectt. No. DPAR bLML dt. 8.3.83
Marathi	VIII schedule	Maharashtra		Act No.5 of 1965
Oriya	VIII schedule	Orissa		Orissa Official Language Act 1954, 15.10.54
Punjab	VIII schedule	Punjab		No.361-/Lg-68/4661, dt. 9.2.68
Sanskrit	VIII schedule			
Sindhi	VIII schedule			
Tamil	VIII schedule	Tamilnadu		Madras Act. XXXIX of 1956
		Pondicherry		Pondicherry official language Act, 1965 (Act 3), 3.4.65
			In some regions of Karnataka	Sectt. No.DPAR bLML 83, 8.3.83
Telugu	VIII schedule	Andhra Pradesh		A.P. Official Language Act, Act 1966
			In some regions of Karnataka	Sectt. DPAR LML 83, dt. 8.3.83
			Yaman of Pondicherry	Official Language Act, 1965 (Act 3) dt. 3.4.65
			Ganjam and Koraput districts of Orissa	Orissa Law Dept. Notification SRO No. 406/72 dt. 6.6.72
Urdu	VIII schedule	Bihar Jammu and Kashmir		19.1.1981 No. GO (Adm) 76/83 7.3.83
			In some regions of Karnataka	Sectt. No.DPAR bLML 83 dt. 8.3.83

For all these juridically fortified languages, a single factor in their favour is their geopolitical concentration, which became the basis for linguistic state formation, e.g. distribution of *Assamese* for every 10,000 persons in Assam State (excluding Mizo districts) is 8,737; *Bengali* 8,532 in West Bengal and 6,879 in Tripura; *Gujarati* 8,940 in Gujarat; *Hindi* 7,977 in Bihar, 8,942 in Haryana, 8,687 in Himachal Pradesh, 8,330 in Madhya Pradesh, 9,113 in Rajasthan, 8,854 in Uttar Pradesh; *Kannada* 6,597 in Karnataka; *Malayalam* 9,602 in Kerala; *Marathi* 7,661 in Maharashtra; *Oriya* 8,415 in Orissa; *Punjabi* 7,949 in Punjabi; *Tamil* 8,451 in Tamilnadu and *Telugu* 8,537 in Andhra Pradesh (Census of India 1971, Pt. II-C(i)). A few other languages, although fairly comparable to some scheduled languages in numerical strength, are left unprotected without juridical support and geopolitical contiguity. For example:

1) Bhili/Bhilodi in Gujarat - 755,510; in Madhya Pradesh - 1,299,411; in Rajasthan - 837,802, etc.
2) Dogri in Himachal Pradesh - 123,467; in Jammu & Kashmir - 1,139,259; in Punjab - 21,466, etc.
3) Konkani in Maharashtra - 277,048; in Karnataka - 575,111; in Goa, Daman, Diu - 556,396, etc.
4) Santali in Bihar - 1,907,613; in Orissa - 378,130; in West Bengal - 1,408,362, etc.
5) Tulu in Kerala - 78,637; in Maharashtra - 31,917; in Karnataka - 1,042,865, etc.

This has given rise to a renewed clamour for a separate "homeland" by many of these ethnolinguistic groups. In all major movements like Jharkhand, Nepali, Konkani and Bishnupuriya, language is a basic issue.

As to the sociological dimension, two factors which play a significant role in language development are *urbanization* and *literacy*. Although the national rate of urbanization was 19.91% for 1971, the state units have either higher or lower rates. The states which have a higher rate of urbanization than the national average, are Maharashtra and Tamilnadu above 30% and Gujarat, Karnataka, West Bengal, Punjab above 20%; all others below this could be as low as 8.41% in Orissa and 8.87% in Assam. The languages which are spoken in these states may generally reflect this territorial characteristic, but there could be exceptions. Therefore, it is the languages which have to be identified individually as urban, semi-urban or rural. In terms of urbanization, the scheduled languages fall into the following rank-order: Sindhi, Urdu, Gujarati, Tamil, Punjabi, Marathi, Kashmiri, Bengali, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Hindi, Oriya and Assamese ranging from 29.89% for Sindhi to 6.11% for Assamese. Among the non-scheduled languages a language such as Tulu has the highest rate of 26.43%, while languages such as Juang, Nicobarese, Mikir, Kheza etc. have almost zero urbanization. Based upon this disparity, languages such as Tulu, Gorkhali/Nepali, Manipuri/ Meithei, Lushai/Mizo may be called by Indian standards, urban (between 15% and 30%); Bodo/Boro, Bhotia, Angami, Ho, Hmar, Kurukh/Oraon, etc. as semi-urban (between 4% and 10%) and others such as Konyak, Phom, Nicabarese, Mikir, Juang, etc. rural (below 4%). Urbanization and urban centres have a very definite sociological impact on language development. Other considerations apart, it helps promote language standardization, some obvious cases being the role of Calcutta in the development of Bengali in the 19th century and the role of Delhi in the case of present day Hindi. Other factors closely linked to the standardization of languages are the mass-media, harbingers of urban values and norms, which eventually reach to remote areas of the country. A language area without a defined urban centre and not served by the mass-media, is likely to remain underdeveloped. The three main carriers of oral linguistic norms are radio, television, and films. Since, many of these channels are controlled by the central authorities, all languages are expected to get a uniform share of coverage, but this is not the case. A language such as Hindi has a total broadcasting time of 6,207 hours a month from 44 stations, or Dogri 111 hours from a single station. Some languages such as Bishnupuriya, Koda/Kora, Yimchungre or Parji have practically no broadcasting. Barring Hindi, most other major languages are on the air from 200 to 1,000 broadcasting hours a month. Some languages such as Manipuri/Meithei, Lushai/Mizo, Konkani, Gorkhali/Nepali and Dogri have between 50 to 200 hours. Others such as Gondi, Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Kurukh/Oraon etc. have below 5 hours a month. Television, a very powerful medium for language propagation, was still a new phenomenon in 1981 and its impact was yet to be felt. Films, both short and feature, contribute to language development. Although most speakers of Indian languages have neither facilities nor resources to make their own films, some short films are produced by the Central Government in these languages. Within the period between 1961 and 1981, a total of 16,288 films were produced in Hindi of which 10,695 were short films and 5,593 feature films. Barring Hindi, during the same twenty year span, the number of productions is as follows (this clearly shows the total dependence of some languages on the government in this matter):

Table 4:

TOTAL FILM PRODUCTION OF SELECTED LANGUAGES FROM 1961-1981

High Prod.	Total	Short	Feature	Middle Prod.	Total	Short	F	Low Prod.	T	S	F
Tamil	7,223	4,637	2,586	Kashmiri	765	763	2	Tulu	20	20	-
Bengali	6,248	4,681	1,567	Sindhi	490	476	14	Dogri	2	1	1
Telugu	6,143	4,000	2,143	Nepali	173	168	6	Gondi	2	2	-
Malayalam	4,700	3,420	1,280	Konkani	75	62	13	Garo	1	1	-
				Manipuri	39	28	11				

The other sociological factor which has significant bearing on language development is societal literacy. Unfortunately, no data is available on literacy by social group in India, as the rate of literacy is taken in terms of states and union territories and not according to mother tongue. This is a big lacunae and shows a lack of appreciation of the relationship between literacy and mother tongue rather than just area. If for example, the rate of literacy in Orissa state is 26.18%, it does not follow that all the ethnolinguistic communities who are inhabiting this state have a uniform literacy rate. We know that in terms of the society many are far below this rate and others far above. Then there are others, who might not be literate in their respective mother tongues but are in another language. This factor has singular bearing on language development. Since this very important sociological correlation between literacy and mother tongue cannot be directly observed, we may have to depend upon other factors such as primary education in the mother tongue. The third **All India Educational Survey** by the NCERT brought out in 1981 giving the statistics on languages and media of instruction in Indian schools is based on decade-old data. The survey indentifies only 34 languages as literary languages, 14 of which are called "neo-literary languages" (Chaturvedi and Singh, 1981, p. 24). In a recent survey by us, (Kloss, McConnell, 1989) covering scheduled languages, mother tongue education at the primary level is very high, except perhaps for Kashmiri and to some extent Sindhi. However, what is of singular interest is the number of non-scheduled languages which now have mother tongue education. These languages are: Angami, Ao, Bhili/Bhilodi, Bhotia, Bishnupuriya, Bodo/Boro, Dimasa, Dogri, Garo, Gondi, Gorkhali/Nepali, Hmar, Konkani, Kezha, Khasi, Mikir, Konyak, Kurukh/Oraon, Ladakhi, Lepcha, Lotha, Lushai/Mizo, Manipuri/ Meithei, Nicobarese, Phom, Sangtam, Santali, Sema, Tangkhul, Thado, Tripuri and Tulu. Several years ago, the German sociolinguist Heinz Kloss pointed out the sociological significance of using a mother tongue in education. Mother tongue education besides being psychologically obligatory, is sociologically a safe-guard against dialectalization of languages. An unwritten language is very often called a "dialect", whereas a language offered for education contributes to the language loyalty of its speakers. Yet another indirect source which throws light on the health of a literary language is the circulation of printed matter, especially newspapers and periodicals. In 1981 Hindi had 432 registered newspapers and 6,264 magazines. On the basis of this data the rating can be called frequent, (for newspapers above 50 and periodicals about 1,000), semi-frequent (newspapers above 10 and periodicals above 100) and infrequent (newspapers below 10 and periodicals below 100).

Table 5:

NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE RATINGS FOR MAJOR SCHEDULED LANGUAGES (1981)

NEWSPAPERS:

	Frequent	Semi frequent	Infrequent
Hindi	432	Tamil - 60	Assamese - 6
Urdu	140	Gujarati - 45	Konkani - 6
Marathi	132	Bengali - 40	Sindhi - 5
Malayalam	116	Telugu - 30	Kashmiri - 3
Kannada	78	Punjabi - 27	Tripuri - 3

Languages such as Ao, Angami, Mundari, Nicoberese, Tulu, etc. have no newspapers.

PERIODICALS:

	Frequent	Semi frequent	Infrequent
Hindi	6,264	Malayalam - 743	Nepali - 53
Bengali	1,469	Punjabi - 671	Lushai/Mizo - 42
Urdu	1,359	Malayalam - 638	Bodo/Boro - 21
Marathi	1,085	Telugu - 500	Santali - 20
Tamil	928	Oriya - 386	Khasi - 13

Languages such as Gondi, Kurukh/Oraon, Bhili/Bhilodi, Lotha, Lepcha, etc. have no magazines.

The third dimension of language status is linguistic. Apart from looking into the rate of creative activity in the language, i.e. mainly production of literature, we shall also deal under this heading with spheres of language use. During a span of twenty years i.e. 1961-81, the bulk of literary production in the major languages of India was substantial. Taking first the scheduled languages, the range of literary production appears to be between 10,000 to 20,000, i.e. Bengali-19,949, Marathi-19,854, Tamil-15,907, Malayalam-11,994, Telugu-11,316, Gujarati-10,979 and Kannada-10,321. On a higher level is Hindi with 37,034 publications and on a lower level are, Punjabi-5,282, Oriya-5,229, Assamese-3,430, Urdu-3,430, Kashmiri-650 and Sindhi-610. But from the point of language development, it is not just the quantum of production that matters but also the content of the literature. From this point, the literature can be divided into two parts: *narrative*, such as fiction, poetry, drama, etc., which is primarily imaginative and *non-narrative*, which is informative. It is the transfer of information that is crucial for language development: text books and the like fit more appropriately into this latter category. Strictly speaking, it is the production of *learned prose* that contributes to language development. Although, it has not been possible for us to keep to this definition of non-narrative literature, i.e., restricting it uniquely to "learned prose", the category includes text books for all levels of education and other information-oriented publications, as opposed to imaginative literature. Thus, languages are divided into three types; high, middle and low on the basis of literary production and a distinction is also made for narrative and non-narrative writings.

Table 6:

LITERARY PRODUCTION FO SELECTED LANGUAGES CLASSIFIED BY LEVEL AND TYPE

A. HIGH (ABOVE 10,000) (EXCLUDES RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS)

	Total	Narrative	Non-narrative
Hindi	37,034	7,776	29,258
Bengali	19,949	7,086	12,863
Marathi	19,854	5,884	14,010
Tamil	15,907	5,001	10,906
Malayalam	11,994	4,116	7,878 etc.

B. MIDDLE (BELOW 1,500) (INCLUDES RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS)

Khasi	1,086	158	504
Konkani	1,085	587	208
Lushai/Mizo	1,072	808	195
Kashmiri	650	439	51
Manipuri	630	388	201, etc.

C. LOW (BELOW 15) (INCLUDES RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS)

Dimasa	15	6	6
Konyak	15	-	10
Kheza	10	-	8
Nicobarese	9	1	3
Sangtam	9	-	7, etc.

Many languages such as Halam, Jatapu, Juang, Koda/Kora etc. have no language publications and are perhaps unwritten. Some, where there existed literary activity decades ago (mainly due to missionary activities), have relapsed into an unwritten state, due to lack of native participation. Therefore, some which may be strictly unwritten languages, may be treated as such, mainly because native participation in written production has come to a standstill.

As regards language use in different societal domains, this paper does not offer any specific data, but we are able to identify those domains where the functions of language can be verified. These domains are:

1. Use in the Government:
    a. National
    b. State
    c. Local (municipal, panchayat, etc.)

2. Courts of Justice
    a. Supreme Court
    b. High courts
    c. Lower courts

3. Legislature
    a. Parliament
    b. Legislative assembly

4. Manufacturing Industries (based on the number of employees)
    a. Large
    b. Medium
    c. Small

5. Service and Sales Industries
    a. Large
    b. Medium
    c. Small

This survey (see above), of course might be called a profile of language usage. Thus, languages can be compared either as groups or as individuals in terms of their functions. This we think, will be a very useful exercise in understanding the vitality of a language in the very complex picture of the Indian linguistic scene.

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Standardization of Languages - The Case of India

S.S. Bhattacharya

The issue of language standardization encompasses the problem of basic uniformity in form and function in the language. It is through uniformity in the use of language that the members of a social group can communicate effectively in a desirable way. Language standardization is neither just an attempt to prescribe script and orthography nor a method of prescribing certain patterns of usage. It is rather an attempt to use a language in a way desired by the people. The earliest, perhaps the finest example of language standardization was that of Sanskrit by Panini. But the present day language situation is very complex in nature.

The problems of standardization are manifold in a multilingual country like India where languages are not equal in status (Bhattacharya, 1988). Moreover, no single language is used for all functions of a speech community. Sanskrit is the language of religion for the Hindus, Pali for the Buddhists, Arabic for the Muslims, etc. The language of higher education and of administration *par excellence* since the British days remains English. Hindi (in the Union, as well as regional levels) and other languages like; Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu (in the regional and sub-regional levels) are increasingly being used. So, in order to understand the processes of standardization of Indian languages, one has to take cognizance of the problems involved in the stratified system of language-usage-patterns in India.

Standardization has been both described from a strictly linguistic point of view and from a sociolinguistic point of view. The notion of standard language is generally linked with the alphabetization of a language and the production of literature. In other words, a script and written literature are the pre-requisites for a standard language. Very often good or bad usages are equated with standard or non-standard varieties of a language.

Ferguson (1968) has discussed the process from the point of view of a language variety, i.e. how a variety acquires certain written norms as well as a certain number of functions. Kloss suggests that the creation or death of languages is based on a combination of both - Abstand and Ausbau principles. However, it is the Ausbau (building) feature which plays the most significant role in the process of development of a standard variety. Garvin (1962) suggests that a standard language should perform three functions: 1) the unifying, 2) the prestige and 3) the frame-of-reference functions. As we know, a set of people, may as a group identify themselves as speakers of a language and yet they use different forms with the same meaning. Hindi is the best example, as far as the unifying function is concerned. It links up several dialect-regions and also a number of dialectalised languages like Braj, Awadhi, Maithili and so on. By prestige function, a standard variety is rated above the non-standard varieties because of its manifest development. As a frame-of-reference, it functions as a model for correct usage. However, many regional varieties have some uniformity and they are a source of prestige for their own speakers. This is reflected in regular census returns in India. Of course, this may be due to several reasons, which I will not go into here. But it is true that many of the mother tongues are amalgams of dialects, some flowing into adjacent languages. Mackey (1984) has discussed as circumstantial which variety or dialect will be accepted as standard. Although we admit that it is technically possible to develop literacy in any dialect or language, yet the languages of most speech communities are not equal in rank. The four aspects of language development that Haugen (1968) isolates are: a) Selection of norms, b) Codification of norms, c) Elaboration of functions and d) Acceptance by the community. According to Ferguson, the ideal language situation is one where a single accepted norm of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary is used for all levels of speaking and writing.

Against the above conceptual background it will be interesting to examine the progress of different written and unwritten languages of India regarding their standardization. Our experience in preparation of two volumes, one on the **Written Languages of India** (Indo-Canadian collaboration survey) and the other on the **Minor Languages of India** will help us to better understand the Indian situation. The language list of the 1971 census provides the appropriate frame-of-reference.

It is shown that although written and printed matters - mainly biblical translations in native languages - appeared very early (these writings were certainly addressed to the speakers of the languages but in many cases without native participation), the languages lapsed back to an unwritten state (e.g. biblical translations in some of the languages appeared fairly early, as in Malto (1881), Korku (1900), Vaiphei (1917). But in other cases, native participation enhanced the process, e.g. Santali (Mahapatra, 1988). On the other hand all the major Indian languages have had a rich literary tradition for a long time. After the reorganisation of states on the basis of language, the regional (state) languages gained considerable importance. During the past two decades most of the states recognized their regional languages for official purposes. To cope with these changing trends the Universities of the respective states have introduced regional languages as medium of education. Although English still remains as link language for intellectual communication and the medium of science and technological education, its role has changed significantly at regional levels.

The VIII Schedule of the Indian Constitution lists fifteen languages, namely: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Except for Sanskrit, Sindhi and Urdu, the other languages are dominant regional languages having official status in States/Union Territories. However, Hindi is the official language of the Indian Union and Urdu is recognized for official purposes in Jammu and Kashmir and in some parts of Bihar (as second official language). Other languages like Gorkhali/ Nepali, Manipuri/Meithei, Khasi, Lushai/Mizo have local official recognition.

Moreover, all Indian languages are not uniformly used at all levels of education. Languages like Kashmiri, Dogri, etc. are taught only at the university level but not at the primary level. There are a good number of languages where a beginning has just been made at the primary or pre-primary level. There are still others which have yet to appear at any level of formal education.

The functions of Hindi, and the other state-level languages have considerably increased. This has led to a controversy regarding an ideal standard and its acceptance by the entire speech community. Although the process of standardization is not institutionalised as for western languages, in the process of modernisation of culture, implicit standard forms have emerged for most of the regional languages (Krishnamurty, 1977). Ferguson (1962) classifies the world languages under two dimensions, viz.: 1) the degree of utilisation in *writing* (W: 0, 1, 2, 3) and 2) the degree of *standardization* (St: 0, 1, 2). This however is an oversimplified scale. Below, we have revised the scales making sub-classifications under each category for the Indian languages.

W: 0 Not Used for Normal Written Purposes

(i) Not used for written purposes, e.g.: Kisan, Korwa, Bhumij, Koch, Mogh, Koda/Kora, Gadaba, Koya, Konda, Jatapu, Juang, etc.

(ii) Languages in which some initial work is known to be underway, such as phonological, lexical, grammatical analysis, e.g.: Savara, Adi, Lakher, etc.

(iii) Languages having only of the translations Bible, e.g.: Shina, Parji, Kinnauri, Khond/Kondh, etc.

Though these languages do not show literary development, they may, however, do so in the foreseeable future.

W: 1 Used for Normal Written Purposes

(i) Used for writing textbooks only, e.g.: Miri/Mishing, Mishmi, Mao, Chang, Yimchungre, Khiemnungen, Paite, etc.

(ii) Used for writing beyond textbook level books, e.g.: Garo, Santali, Konkani, etc.

(iii) Used for normal narrative and non-narrative writings, e.g.: Manipuri/Meithei, Lushai/Mizo, Dogri, Kashmiri, Sindhi, etc.

W: 2 Original Research Regularly Published in the Physical Sciences

(i) Beginning of research publications in different science subjects, e.g.: all the major languages.

W: 3 Translation and Resumes of Scientific Work from other Languages are Regularly Published

(i) Translation of scientific work and resume from other languages (mainly from English) are almost regularly published in most of the major languages.

St: 0 There is no important amount of standardization

(i) The process is yet to start, e.g.: all the unwritten languages.

(ii) The process has just started, e.g.: Santali, Tripuri, Ao, Angami, Mikir, etc.

(iii) Attained certain steps toward standardisation, e.g.: Garo, Khasi, Lushai/Mizo, Dogri, Gorkhali/Nepali, etc.

St: 1 This is not defined but explained as obtaining in languages with one or more implicit standard forms ***with a wide range of variation.***

(i) The implicit standard has emerged with a wide range of variation, e.g.: most of the scheduled languages.

(ii) A few of them made a considerable progress towards the St. 2 scale of Ferguson.

St: 2 A single, widely accepted norm with minor variations ***for all purposes for which the language is used.***

(i) --- none

It is of course not always an easy task to decide whether the speech variety in which some literatures have been produced is a full-fledged language and not just a dialect. For example, Bhili and Lahnda have produced three Bibles in as many varieties. Gondi is another example.

By extending Ferguson's typology, we have classified the Indian languages and seen that most of the non-scheduled languages are moving quickly in the direction of scheduled languages, while quite a number of them have still to join the race. But most of the scheduled languages have made considerable progress. Krishnamurty (1977) points out that a supra-dialectal norm is necessary for each of the modern Indian languages for spreading literacy, for facilitating intertranslability with each other, for spreading modern knowledge to all levels of formal education and for serving as an effective vehicle of administration.

By taking two Indian languages, one scheduled and the other non-scheduled, their objectives and achievements can be examined here in some detail. The two languages chosen are Bengali, a scheduled language and Tripuri a non-scheduled tribal language.

BENGALI

Bengali, which is spoken by 44,792,312 speakers in India (1971 Census), enjoys official status in two countries, viz. India and Bangladesh, and serves as the vehicle of a large and distinguished literature. It is the official language of West Bengal and Tripura. It also has a sub-regional official status in the Cachar district of Assam. Although Bengali, which covers a huge geographical area including West Bengal, Tripura, Cachar district of Assam and Bangladesh, had widely devergent dialects, it developed a uniform literary standard by accepting a Sanskrit spelling system. Of these dialects, those of West Bengal and later on the dialect of Calcutta, assumed greater prestige for socio-cultural reasons. In the past, during the Muslim period, when Persian was the language of administration, its impact was also felt in certain spheres of Bengali linguistic activities. Even today legal documents in Bengali are written in Persianized style. Around the turn of the 19th Century, when literary use of prose emerged in Bengali, the entire problem of standardization centered around the issue of Sanskritized style i.e., Sadhu-Bhasa (elite style) vs. Chalit-Bhasa (colloquial speech). The Chalit Bhasa based on the educated middle class speakers of Calcutta, gradually spread as the modern standard Bengali and restricted the use of Sadhu-Bhasa. With the development of prose in the 20th century Chalit Bhasa took a lead as a modern written vehicle reducing the difference between the literary and colloquial standards. The present day use of Sadhu Bhasa, which is restricted to certain specific uses is, however, less definable grammatically because of extensive influence from the Chalit Bhasa (Dimock, 1960). In the later phase of the standardization of Bengali the influence of English was substantial and in some cases, has gone beyond lexical levels (Das, 1974).

TRIPURI

Tripuri (Kok-Barak), spoken by the majority of the tribals of Tripura (372,579 speakers in 1971 Census), is in the process of standardization. The alphabetization of Tripuri started at the beginning of this century, but the conscious standardization of Tripuri started in the 1960's only. Although controversy regarding the choice of scripts between Bengali and Roman, is not yet resolved, most of the written activities in Tripuri are done through Bengali script. In the process of standardization Tripuri has attained some of its goals: selection of usage norms is very much in progress through regular radio broadcasts, staged dramas and public lectures, etc. The elaboration function is also visible in the greater use of the standard language in books, newspapers, magazines, etc. By now, it has produced a good number of books of a narrative type and a few non-narrative works. Although Tripuris, Riangs and others have accepted the Tripuri variety as the standard, because of socio-political considerations (Bhattacharya, 1980), controversy regarding the ideal standard has created some confusion. It has yet to be determined if present usage will be accepted by the majority. Moreover, it is our experience in Tripura, that the educated Tripuri speakers have either forgotten their mother tongue and switched over to Bengali, or they have become coordinate bilinguals with less efficiency in their mother tongue. This phenomenon of bilingualism and especially the effect on the bilinguals' phonology is very striking. It needs investigation for preparation of educational materials for these people. As a result, a section of the elite whose speech is based on rural dialects is in a strong position to introduce this variety as the standard one. They have started a movement toward puristic norms for the standard. Many of the currently used words are being replaced and new words created, but this is creating a problem of intelligibility among the speakers.

So, the process of language standardization of language is not just a method for prescribing certain norms of usage set by various committees or governmental agencies. Its success mainly depends on the acceptance of those norms by the speakers on the basis of a universal criterion of intelligibility involving the maximum number of people. It means standard languages should not be promoted for their exclusiveness at the cost of their acceptability, thereby disturbing natural processes of language growth by extensive borrowing of technical terms, etc. Moreover, in the case of many of the Indian languages, widely accepted regional norms have developed long before the expansion of their functional range. In such cases, the local standard would be more suitable as a medium of primary education compared to a totally unfamiliar, standard language, especially for the socially backward children.

To sum up, it may be said that language standardization as a part of language planning should be responsive to the every day needs of the speakers.

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Official and Minority Languages in Canada and India: Their Status, Functions and Prestige

William F. Mackey

One of the problems which India and Canada have in common is to determine the status and the functions of their constituent languages and to discover how changing the one can or cannot modify the other.

If we study what has been written and said on the status and function of languages, we find much confusion -- both logical and ideological. These concepts are intertwined with those of prestige and survival. One reads of dominant languages and dominated languages, of minority languages and minoritized languages, and the like. Unless we have some clear and objective notions of these basic components of all language problems, we are unlikely to understand our own.

Let me begin with the now outmoded practice of defining my terms. What do I mean by status and function? The two terms are often confused with one another and also with another term, prestige. Basically the essential difference between *prestige*, *function* and *status* is the difference between past, present and future. The prestige of a language depends on its record, or what people think its record to have been. The function of a language is what people *actually do* with it. The status of a language depends on what people can do with it -- its potential. Status therefore is the sum total of what you *can do* with a language -- legally, culturally, economically, politically and, of course, demographically. This is not necessarily the same as what you do with the language, although the two notions are obviously related, and indeed interdependent. They can also be connected with the prestige of a language. Let me illustrate the differences. Classical Latin has had a lot of prestige but it has few functions. Swahili has a lot of functions but little prestige. Irish Gaelic has status -- official status -- but few functions.

Remains the term,"multinational state". I see it here in its broadest acceptance. That is, a sovereign state which is not a nation-state. Canada and India are sovereign states; but they are not nation-states as are France and Japan. These nation states have a single official language which is used for all purposes in all regions. This is not the case in either Canada, or in India, where more than one language other than English has its own status and functions.

Status and function are related to other more peripheral concepts like prestige which may be largely symbolic, representing the classical (or high) form of a language which all respect but few use. Conversely, in the long run, status may accord prestige to a language. Status, defined as what one can do with a language (its potential, as opposed to what one does with it (its functions), has several dimensions -- demographic, geographic, cultural, economic and juridical. Each may have developed from different extra-linguistic sources. The legal status of a minority language for example may have its origin in a perceived basic right to identity as a component of human dignity.

As opposed to status, the functions of a language, defined as what one in fact does with it, can be directly observed in the language behaviour of the population of any area. The status of a language can often be modified by changing its functions but only within certain limits. The history of language status modification teaches us that, like all things political, the politics of language is the art of the possible. Any language status strategy must depend on surveys such as the one presented here, which can reveal the distance between the status (*de jure*) and the corresponding (*de facto*) functions.

The distance may be enormous. For even *de facto* juridical functions can operate independently of any legal status. For example, all juridical functions in the USA are performed in English. Yet there is nothing in the American constitution that gives English any status as an official language. Since every one is presumed to know the language, there was perhaps no need to specify its status. Contrariwise, endowing a language with legal status does not assume that everyone knows it; nor does it bestow knowledge of the language on the people for whom it is official. For example, in much of Africa, some 90% of the people have no knowledge of the official language of their country, even though it is presumed to be the vehicle of communication between the government and its citizens. Of course there is a difference between what one is allowed to do with a language and what one is able to do. The legal status of Irish in Ireland is such that everyone is allowed to work in the language; but few are usually able to do so. Language function depends on language competence, and competence is maintained by use. The Irish work in the language they know best - English, which has conserved its economic potential. Its status is economic. It is also cultural, in the sense that there are books in English for every conceivable interest and in great numbers. Number, of course, is basic to the status of any language in all its dimensions, especially the demographic one. If we combine, or rather multiply, demographic status with economic and cultural status some languages have no need for any other status -- juridical or political.

It seems that the need to accord legal status to a language arises in situations of language conflict - felt or feared. In Canada the presence of both English and French created a need to specify which language would be used, and where. In India, the presence of Hindi and English and other languages made it necessary to provide language status by legal means. And recently in the United States faced with the rising tide of Spanish, especially in the South, the U.S. Senate has since 1983 been pondering a joint resolution to amend the constitution in order to make English the official language[1].

Here again, status has meaning only within the context in which a language may be used. You can do more with a language everyone understands, than with one no one knows but all admire. A regional tongue may have more status (potential) in a village than does a national or international language.

This relativity may be accounted for in the legal status accorded a language. Here there is a considerable difference between Canadian and Indian language laws. In Canada, no language outside French and English has any regional status. French is official in Quebec, co-official in the Maritime province of New Brunswick and may become regionally official in some of the provinces west of Quebec. But no other of the many languages spoken in Canada has any status. Contrariwise, in India, where all mother tongues have some status, inasmuch as all can address parliament in their mother tongue and, according to Article 350 of the constitution any grievance of any citizen can be presented in any national mother tongue. In addition there is the right to mother tongue education and to funding for it (Article 31). And when we realize that over 1 600 mother tongues were listed in the 1961 census returns, a Canadian can only wonder and admire the tolerance for such language diversity.

This, of course, is a matter of principle - the right to conserve a minority language - which is also enshrined in the Constitution (Article 29) - coupled with the over-all constitutional status accorded the fifteen languages of the Eighth Schedule. Then, at the municipal level you sometimes have another language as official. This, for example, is the case of Bengali in Cachar (Assam). At the state level, there is the official state language along with possible other official languages and at the national all-union level, Hindi and English. The latter, in spite of the status accorded the constitutional languages, has conserved many of its functions. For it is still the language of the High Court and often that of the lower courts, where all records and orders, if not processed in English, are translated into that language.

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[1] Senate Joint Resolution 167 (9/4/83). (English Language Ammendment), In: Fishman, Joshua A. (ed.) Language Rights and the English Language Ammendment (International Journal of the Sociology of Language, No. 60), 1986.

The persistance of English in India is understandable and, at least for some time, inevitable. As in all multinational post-colonial areas of the world, the colonial language has been maintained if only because it had become the only *lingua franca* common to all constituent language groups or at least to their leaders. This is still true in most countries of Africa, where the frontiers between states had been based on power politics rather than on ethnic cohesion. Such power politics re-mapping had happened long ago in Europe. But there is now the beginning of a realization that language status must extend beyond the sovereign state, as has been exemplified in the recent language treaty between Gambia and Senegal, as well as Belgium and the Netherlands, thereby promoting cultural cohesion between the two sovereign states.[3]

For many years in India since the elaboration of the first constitution in 1949 to this day, the policy has been to promote Hindi, not only as the all-Indian *lingua franca*, in place of English, but to give this Indian language all the official status that a government could provide (Article 351). We all know of the repeated attempts to update the shift from English to Hindi. None the less, it is no secret that English has remained, with most of its functions intact, as the *de facto* lingua franca.

Yet this is also true for vast areas of the globe outside of India - and for reasons that are historical, as well as demographic, economical and cultural - in short, geolinguistic. Functionally, English has evolved from an ethnocentric tongue to a language of convenience, a lingua franca capable of many things beyond business deals. Like Latin in the Europe of past centuries, it has shaken off its ethnic shakles and ideological connections and is no longer associated with England and its Empire, but rather with technology, internationalism and consumerism.

But because of its multiple functions operating in international contexts, English has taken on an extra-territorial status, not (as have some languages) for the practices of a religion, but rather for the functions of science and technology. The resulting status within this extra-territorial context has developed over time, especially within the past century. Like that of Latin in the past, however, the status is not necessarily permanent.

Since the context of language status varies in time and place, it is of course unstable and can therefore change and be changed. Not only in India, but in other states, there have been efforts to increase the status of the national language. How? By increasing the *type* and *number* of its functions. To what extent is this possible. If we look at the results of the language status policy of Julius Neyere for Swahili and of Soekarno for Bahasa Indonesia over the past two decades, it is evident that under certain conditions it is possible to give status to a national language. Again in Quebec, French has been promoted as the only official language since 1974 with the Official Language Charter. The results have been all the more remarkable since, as in India, the language to be replaced was English, and this, in the middle of English-speaking America. How was this achieved?

The state can attempt to change the status of a language by promotion or by coercion -- or as in Quebec, by a bit of both. By defining the number and distribution of language functions within the jurisdiction of the state and the levels of use within its institutions, the state can influence the uses of an official language, provided that there is sufficient competence and no immutable diglossic dichotomy. The state can do this through the use of certain administrative tools at its disposal, such as: the promotion of personnel by language, publications and aid to publications, use of the media, translation and interpretation, public notices and public documents, social promotion and social organization (conference secretariats, public festivals, language-based organizations, and the like).

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[3] Roland Willemyns, La convention de l'union de la langue néerlandaise (The Dutch Language Convention), Québec: CIRB 1983, 38 p. (Publication H-1).

The use and effectiveness of such tools depend not only on: 1) available resources, 2) the diversity of language varieties and 3) the competition between them, but also, 4) on the popular will favoring order and control.

Of course, changing a tradition takes a lot of time. In England, it took centuries to change the language of the courts from Norman French to Modern English. It is not surprising if contemporary attempts do not give quick results.[3]

Legislators, who have failed to change language traditions by *fiat* however, can often attribute their lack of success to a lack of information about the causes and likely consequences of their acts. The starting point for change in language status by a government is information about the actual language use. Which languages are used for which functions and to what extent? What you actually *do* with a language is dependent on what you *can* do with it, for function is related to status. Since status is cumulative, the number of functions and their importance can be an indicator of status. If one language is used for most functions and important ones, its status is likely to be high. So the higher the status the more functions the language is likely to take on. One of the reasons is that the more functions a language has, the more social networks it controls, not only within a community or a group, but also between groups. This creates social cohesion which is not likely to become unstuck through language policies.

With the data now available from our joint survey it should be possible to obtain a picture of these networks of language functions in different regions. At least for the written languages of the survey, other than Sanskrit and English, we can get answers to such questions as: Is Language X present in Function A and at which level, in what mode, and in what proportion? Who uses it as a second language and how many?

The fact that there are second language speakers, also presumes that there are some functions. If we can weight these functions by the number of speakers, and the latter, by the number and length of language behaviors, we could get a measure of basic status independent of any intervening statal or political variables. Weighting functions as behavior determinants involves recording language use by time and distribution. We have, for example, time devoted to each language as a medium of instruction in schools, as a medium of communication between the administration and the citizen at different levels of government, including such areas as the work world, the media, health and welfare, and the military. In the media we include not only television, but also books in print and in libraries, radio broadcasting and film production. The problem in measuring these language functions, however, is the difficulty in distinguishing between free-market oriented and policy-oriented production.

Our data will also permit us to give a picture of current trends by providing what is needed to produce maps of language functions. Since neither populations nor functions are entirely stable, these maps help analyse patterns of movement and shifts in language composition of different areas including domain configurations of language use.

These trends, in order to be understood, may have to be placed within a wider historical context. There is now evidence, for example, that in parts of the world, in Europe and America at least, we are approaching the end of the long period of post-medieval linguistic nationalism.[4] Regionalism has been on the rise, and since mid-century it has noticeably accelerated. Any increase in the popularity of regionalism can bring a rise in the prestige of regional languages.

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[3] Cooray, Mark L.J., Changing the Language of the Law: The Sri Lanka Experience. (CIRB, publication A-20) Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1985, 183 p.

But this does not really explain why regionalism has so quickly accelerated in Europe and America. It seems that the causes are multiple. The revolt of the ethnics, as it has been called, may be part of a larger movement away from the centralism of nation-states, and away from the faceless bureaucracy of big government, big business and big labour, which are now perceived as preventing people from keeping control over their lives and their careers.[5] It seems that the post-Galbraithian industrial state based on the social compact between business, labour and government is no longer all that modern.[6] For there is a growing feeling in many communities in both Europe and North America that if big is bad, small must be beautiful.[7] Witness the rise of political parties in Europe, in Canada and in the United States which gained power by promising to get the government off our backs.

In Canada at least there has been an evident increase in regionalism and in the struggle for the status of ethnic languages, both the heritage languages of immigrant populations and the aboriginal tongues of Amerindian nations. These people now want their language and they want their land back.[8] They are looking for status for themselves and their languages, even though some of these tongues have lost many of their functions, none of which were written ones.

All this is happening at a time when the status and importance of the written word as a cohesive force is receding in the West before the phenomenal rise in the functions and uses of the spoken word as transmitted through radio, television, telephone and the interpersonal mobility of people. Even educated people are reading and writing less and less - except professionally. Many people cease to read after leaving school. They do not often need to read. Radio and television, which have now developed from luxuries to necessities, supply all their needs for information, so that their reading and writing skills, left unused, can diminish to the point of functional illiteracy. At a recent conference on literacy in Canada, the number of functional illiterates in the county was estimated as being equivalent to a fifth of the population.

The trend to orality may remove some of the stigma felt by illiterate populations, whose constituency has few defenders. We must realize that having attributed functions only to written languages, there is the danger of disenfranchising the unwritten tongues and their numerous speakers. Literacy has long been linked to statehood and statehood to status. For once a language is reduced to writing, it seems to take on a life of its own. It becomes more abstract and the abstractions it creates are often treated as if they were objects. And these tend to become fixed in time, immutable.

It is not surprising, therefore, that all popular political systems-- Democracy, National Socialism and Communism have depended on a literate electorate. I think it was Lenin who said that an illiterate is really outside politics, so the theory goes. But is the converse true? How many literate persons -- professors and scientists included -- actually remain outside of politics? Today the political medium has returned to orality mainly through the dominance of television. Meanwhile we continue to assume the primacy of writing in the affairs of mankind.

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[4] Veiter, Theodor, Regionalism and Microstates. Regional Contact 1 (1987): 42-54.

[5] Mackey, William F., Current Trends in Multinationalism. In: W.F. Mackey & A. Verdoodt (eds.) The Multinational Society, New York: Harper & Row (Newbury House) 1975, pp. 329-355.

[6] Galbraith, John Kenneth, The New Industrial State, Boston, Houghton Mifflin 1967.

[7] Schumacher, E.F., Small is Beautiful. London: Abacus 1973. Also: McRobie, George, Small is Possible. London: Abaacus 1981.

[8] Mackey, William F.,The Sociology of Ethnolinguistic Nucleation. Politics and the Life Sciences 4 (1985) 1: 10-15.

Now that we know so much about the written languages of India and their use, we can afford to pause in order to question their *status*, their *functions* and indeed their *prestige*. Does everyone who has a written language actually use it as such? And to what extent? Is it possible also to measure the functional distribution of the unwritten languages? Do they have any status, and what kind? How do the functions and status of all these languages written and unwritten, measure up to those of the supranational languages. These are questions that need answers before we can have a final picture of the functional distribution of languages in India.

In sum, we now have many of the pieces to the picture puzzle. Let us now find the others and complete the picture.

The Concept of Working Language

Jean-Denis Gendron

To introduce the subject I have to deal with, I will use the sentence coined by Fishman some twenty years ago: "Who speaks what language to whom and when". This was the main question asked by the Government of Quebec at the end of the sixties, when it desired information on the situation of the French language in Quebec, when compared to the English language. The Government's question was global in scope i.e. to be informed about the situation of the two languages "in all fields of activity". In addition, the answer required had to be precise, because of the political and social problems the Government was facing. So, we should extend the sentence quoted above to the following: "Who speaks what language to whom and when - and in what proportion"?

What I intend to do in this paper is to give a portrait of the whole concept of working language which has to be developed, so as to depict accurately the sociolinguistic reality underlying the question initially asked. I shall do so first, by examining the development and application of a special grid for the Quebec linguistic problem; second, by comparing Fishman's domain theory of linguistic behavior in multilingual settings to a domain theory drawn from the economic analysis of human activity; and, third, by developing the notion of the use of a language in all fields of activity, as an addition or a complement to Kloss's *Ausbau* theory.

1. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND TEMPORAL BASIS OF HUMAN ACTIVITY

If one intends to depict the use of languages in all fields of activity, one has first to find or design a model of human activities. If, moreover, one has the obligation of paying particular attention to the use of languages in the workplace, one is then on the way to looking for a model of activity in the economic sphere, which underlies the bulk of communications usually summarized in the expression "working language".

The notions of work on the one hand and language used at work on the other hand, were central in developing a model embracing the whole sphere of human activity.

The notion of work:

- helps you to trace a daily schedule of human activity, which may be split into three main parts: work, leisure and total rest; each one occupying about one third of the twenty-four hours in a day;
- helps you to realize that a person has basically a double activity: one of *producing* and one of *consuming*; and accordingly, that this same person communicates both as a producer and a consumer;
- helps you to become conscious that the great majority of the population in a country works; only young children and retirees being excluded from the work force (Surely, there is a more restricted or more technical definitions of the term *labor force*, in Canada the more usual being the total number of individuals on the labor market, meaning all those, who at a given time have looked or are looking for employment in a work organization. The labor force constitutes a more limited group

of persons than that described as the *total population* or the *active population* - the latter group includes persons fourteen years of age and over, who do not form part of the labor market);

- finally, the notion of work helps you to distinguish between self employment (e.g. a writer) and working in an organization (e.g. an employee); in the latter case, there are probably norms of linguistic behavior previously established.

At the end of the process, you can conclude that you have reached the conception developed by economists to explain the functioning of the society: men are in turn producers and consumers; they both produce goods and services and consume goods and services. This is accomplished through institutional and organizational infrastructures, which one can describe in terms:

- of *ownership* (juridical or historical)
- of sectors and sub-sectors of human *activity*
- of *premises* (locations) within which take place the activities.

In these premises, there are individuals who fulfill various social *roles*: economic roles (as producers or consumers), organizational roles (as superiors or subordinates, or as peers or colleagues) and occupational roles (administrators, professionals, office exployees, salesmen, service employees, etc.). This takes into account only larger categories.

These individuals fulfill two main types of work: *manual* (where communications are much less important) or *verbal/written* (where communications take most of the time). And the communications done in the workplace are of two kinds: *functional*, which means communication in close connection with the task at hand; and *non-functional*, meaning communications irrelevant to the job.

One has to be more precise about functional communications and indicate if it's a matter:

i) of verbal or written communications: addressed to superiors, subordinates, peers or colleagues;
ii) of verbal communications when attending meetings;
iii) of written communications intended for people within the enterprise or for external distribution;
iv) of reading texts from various origins, inside or outside the workplace.

The above list gives a profile of the basic communication network of an individual in the workplace. To get an idea of the general environment of such an individual, one may look at the size of the work organization - the largest ones being more complex from an organizational point of view.

One has still to set up the mechanism allowing for the measurement of how long a time period each language is used during the working day. The length of the work day is about 7 to 8 hours. For each specific type of communication mentioned above, the question to be answered is what percentage of time is devoted every day to what particular functions and to what language: French or English? One would then get detailed percentages of the use of each language and also, a global percentage, both of which would give an image of linguistic behavior during working time, and specifically about the tasks to be done on the job, i.e. for each occupation in each sector and sub-sector of activity.

The bigger the sample, the more detailed and precise are the figures of linguistic behavior that one could obtain. One could then go as far as to say that French or English speaking professionals, working in the electrical products industry, when addressing their superiors use English or French in what percentage of time; or, similarly, that office use working in the petroleum and coal industry, when reading texts from an internal source, do so in English or French for what percentage of time; and so forth, for each occupation in each sector or sub-sector of activity. The above could reveal significant variations in linguistic choices which, otherwise, would be unknown.

The global result of the Quebec language study was that, on the whole, English predominated over French as a language of work, but this result was misleading and had to be examined in detail. The use of English was largely predominant in i) secondary industry, ii) public utility services and iii) finance - that is, the use of English for both Francophones and Anglophones. The use of French was predominant for Francophones only in; i) construction, ii) public administration and iii) personal and social services. Commerce was a special case. Why was that so?

The answer is twofold: first, the *segregation and stratification* of workers in each activity sector and second, the *communications network* for each sector, were more or less open to the rest of Canada, United States and even the world. In other words, the above reasons were due to the composition of the immediate environment and its hierarchy, and to the opening of a sector to the outside world.

There was a double segregation: *horizontal* through juxtaposition of groups in different activity sectors; and *vertical*, through the placing of these groups at various levels within the hierarchy of jobs and functions. For each group, both types of segregation encouraged a wide autonomy in the use of the mother tongue, because the majority of the persons forming the immediate conversation group were of the same language. Herein lies one of the reasons for the lack of use of French by English speaking people.

There was no lack of concrete evidence of horizontal segregation. In Quebec, this was - and probably still is - related to an apparent specialization of work along ethno-linguistic lines. There were sectors of activity where, on a horizontal level, there was a strong concentration of French-speaking people, for example, in the primary and construction industries. The same applied to a lesser extent to public administration and commerce. It could be assumed that the use of French was widespread in these sectors. On the contrary, finance and public utility services were strongholds of English-speaking people, where the English language held sway.

But in relations between French and English speaking people, the prime determinant in language use was the vertical grouping of workers, or their concentration in important administrative roles. In any sector of activity, there was to be as much opportunity of using French in functionally important communications as there was French speaking personnel in its middle and upper management levels. In this respect, two sectors were dominated throughout by French speaking people: *public administration* and *commerce*; two other sectors offered a ratio less favorable to French speaking people (but still satisfactory): *personal and social services* and *construction*. On the other hand, the two sectors of *finance* and *public utilities* were thoroughly dominated by English speakers. Two other sectors, primary and secondary industry, were differently structured, being under English speaking domination at the top and French speaking domination at the lower echelons.

There would appear to be a direct relationship between the level of use of French in functional communications in any given sector and the over representation of English-speaking people, especially in administrative and professional positions or occupations: the lowest rate for the use of French was found in the *manufacturing industry*, closely followed by *public utility* services and *finance*; these three sectors were also at the bottom of the scale according to the proportions of French to English speakers in administrative and professional occupations. On the other hand, as far as the use of French was concerned, the public administration field, which was thoroughly dominated by French- speaking people, had the highest level of French use, followed by social services.

But segregation and stratification did not explain the case of *commerce* and *construction*, where the use of French was not as great as one would have thought, even though French-speaking people were well represented at all levels of the administrative hierarchy. One possible reason is that construction and commerce, though French sectors, are, to a greater extent, tied to a more open communications network than public administration and social and personal services, which are also dominated by French speakers. In brief, these sectors were, or are, by the kind of communications activity (writing and reading) more tied to continental networks, i.e. English-speaking Canada and the United States.

So, economic categories of work production allow us to analyse human activity in the workplace in terms of *sectors and sub-sectors* of production, in terms of *occupation* and in terms of different *types of communication* required to fulfill one's task. This is required for the purpose of determining the use of French and/or English as a means of communication, calculated as a percentage of daily work time. The possibility of using one language instead of the other, was mainly due to the concentration of workers of one language in important administrative roles and to a communication network open or not to English speaking North America. Secondly, this possibility was favored by the horizontal and vertical stratification of workers of each group.

Also present were the norms of linguistic behavior in the Quebec work milieu, norms varying from one sector to the next, and even from one work organization to another in the same sector (with sector specialization as we already noted). How could it be possible to modify this tendancy? In the absence of any state legislation, regarding the use of languages, the work organization was thought to be an autonomous entity in the Quebec French milieu, depending for its linguistic behavioral rules, on the ownership of the organization. Ownership may spring from a single man, as often happens in private enterprise (this is juridical and economic ownership), or from a group of persons, possibly as large as the ethnic group itself, in the case of hospitals, associations, schoolboards, etc. (This is what may be called moral or historical ownership, because the ethnic group is the founder and has been from the beginning the administrator). So, the concept was that the owner of the work oganization was the one who could determine the linguistic rules and hired, for administrative purposes, people of the same language to fill middle and upper management positions.

2. DOMAIN THEORY AND ECONOMIC CATEGORIES OF PRODUCTION

Let us now see how the economic basis of this analysis compares with Fishman's domain theory.

As Fishman puts it, in multilingual settings, language choices for communicative purposes are not individual ones, but depend upon norms of linguistic behavior laid down by social organizations, which regulate relations between persons.

What can be said about these social organizations?

Fishman defines domain as ..."a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the sphere of activity of a culture, in such a way that individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other. The domain is a higher order of abstraction or summarization which is arrived at from a consideration of the socio-cultural patterning which surrounds language choices." And he adds: "The appropriate designation and definition of domains of language behavior obviously calls for considerable insight into the socio-cultural dynamics of particular multilingual settings at particular periods in their history ... the domains of language behavior may differ from setting to setting..." (Fishman, 1965).

For Fishman, domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from three items: *topics*, *relationships* and *locales*; and domain is in accord with the following: the *institutions of a society* and the *spheres of activity of a culture*. Other characteristics are: 1) domain varies over time for a given setting, and 2) it varies also from one setting to another.

Fishman notes the following domains as recommended by a German researcher: the family, the playground and street, the school, the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and the governmental administration. And he says: "Subsequently, other investigators [Schmidt-Rohr, the German researcher] either added additional domains, (e.g. Mak, who nevertheless followed Schmidt-Rohr in overlooking the work-sphere as a domain) ..." (p. 248).

But the work sphere is a domain with a peculiarity which makes it different from others, because it intersects with the majority of other domains, in the sense that most other domains are workplaces: the family is a workplace for the housewife, the school is a workplace for teachers and pupils (or professors and students at university level), the press is a workplace for all those working therein, and so forth, for the military, the governmental administration, etc.).

Using an economic grid of human activity, you have three fundamental types: one of *production* (work institutionalized), the others of *consumption* and of *leisure*. As for production activity, it can be divided by sectors and sub-sectors, which are at the same time domains of linguistic behavior; and, from a workers' point of view, it is the kind of occupation in which a person is engaged, i.e. the professional role a person fills in a work organization. In the case of the consumer, there would be similar specifications in terms of activities, and the same holds for the leisure domain. For example, the street, noted by Schmidt-Rohr as a domain, may be a playground for children: it then becomes leisure. Literature is a product of human activity, but produced in a very special work organization.

Activities are not of the same kind in the above three types: most of the time, in work domains, they are organized activities, taking place in a work organization, producing goods or services. On the contrary, in the consumption and in the leisure domains, activities depend on personal decisions, even if these activities can generally take place in organized workplaces, like retail stores, schools, law courts, or are drawn from organized workplaces, like radio and television.

Persons involved in the production or work domain play a double role in the work organization - a professional role specified by their occupation, and a hierarchical role as superior or subordinate, or as colleague or peer; also they have functional communications, the topic of which is a business task, or otherwise - in the latter case the communications are non-functional. There are, *mutatis mutandis*, analogous roles and topics of the consumption and leisure types: for example, the role of doctor and patient, seller and buyer, using a language to communicate about a topic, which is an illness or something to buy.

The economic grid for categorizing human activities provides a fixed general plan or approach to the domain problem of sociolinguistic analysis of linguistic behavior in multilingual settings. It may apply differently from one setting to another, according to the spheres of activity proper to a particular setting at a particular moment of its history or of its economic and social development. This grid allows someone to go back to the institutions or social organizations of human activity in society, and to the very premises where these activities take place. Moreover, this kind of analysis allows one to identify the person or the group, that is at the origin of the linguistic norm prevailing in communications at one moment in time, for a particular activity, either in all or only some work organizations. Also, this kind of analysis, by way of types and domains of human activity allows one to estimate the importance of using a language in each domain, so as to have it thoroughly developed and perceived as useful and prestigious for the natural users, as well as for users of other tongues.

3. THE USE OF A LANGUAGE AND KLOSS' AUSBAU THEORY

This last point leads us to the notions of *use* and *usefulness* of a language. As such, a language can translate in words and sentences the whole of reality, if it is developed in an appropriate manner. That means that it is used daily in all spheres of human activity. In other words, the more it is used in all fields of activity, the more it develops, and by its presence the more it seems useful to all - be they first or second language users.

A great many European immigrants, who settled in the province of Quebec, after the Second World War, held the French language in great respect. It was for them a great language of culture and communication, but in North America French was not very useful for earning a living. English was the language considered to be the most used. Therefore, because French was less used for this central or essential act of earning one's living, it appeared downgraded in America, though this same language had a great prestige in Europe.

The global method developed in Quebec to describe linguistic behavior helps one to determine the usefulness of a language (through its presence or absence) as a means of communication in the fields of human activity. The method allows one to conclude that *the development of a language is a function of its use* and that *the use of a language is a measure of its usefulness*. If one includes in activities of production, the intellectual activities taking place in scientific laboratories and research centers, it becomes clear that the concept includes all activities capable of developing a language. Persons working alone remain outside this global model of activity, as they they are not tied up to a work organization (for example writers of literature).

The concept of usefulness of a language can be defined as its real or effective use as a means of cognition and communication in relation to all fields of activity. So, the real use of a language is the measure of its usefulness, and the measure of the real use is expressed through fields of activity.

If we turn now to the *Ausbau* theory developed by the late Heinz Kloss, which is basically a theory about language development, it appears that just as much importance may be attached to *fields of activity* in examining the development of a language, as to production in this language of didactic books, particularly in the scientific research domain. However, it is possible to produce scientific works in a language and at the same time, to see this language unused in many fields, as a language of work. That was the case in the province of Quebec in the sixties. Therefore, in this province, the use of the French language to produce scientific works could not be an absolute predictor of the development of this language; I mean, of the capacity of this language to translate all activities. As a matter of fact, there were important weaknesses or loopholes in vocabulary.

As a consequence of the restricted use of French in management and production activities in Quebec, there were considerable lexical loopholes in administrative and technical matters. In order to remedy the situation, a need was felt to create a terminology bank and to publish a large number of booklets of specialized vocabulary terms and to disseminate them to the personnel of the organizations working in these specialized areas.

The list of publications of the Quebec "Office of the French Language" (Office de la langue française) is composed of the following:

- 10 booklets on the terminology of management
- 15 booklets on industrial and technical terminology
- 10 booklets on the terminology of nutrition
- 5 booklets on the terminology of insurance.

The Office continues to work on this task of providing the work organizations - above all industrial, commercial and financial entreprises - with French words, which are lacking, because of the earlier absence of French in various fields of activity. To prepare the lists of French words, the Office can use designations of common use in France but it must also frequently create new words, because the methods, techniques and objects differ between Europe and America.

Therefore, it seems clear that a language unused or only partially used as a means of communication, is a language threatened by lexical asphyxia and condemned to lose prestige through lack of its usefulness. It is therefore of great importance to *measure in detail* the use of a language in all fields of activity.

This being said, we have to pay tribute to Heinz Kloss for having developed many typologies and theories and above all the *Ausbau* theory, which furnished him and others with a construct to determine the degree of development of a language or its intellectualization, as the term is often called.

The *Ausbau* theory was developed by Dr. Kloss as much by deduction from the history of language development in Europe as by observing the state of languages today. His knowledge of languages was wide and outstanding, and was further developed at the ICRB, by Dr. G.D. McConnell, through his work on the Languages of the World projects, which began some 20 years ago on request by Dr. W.F. Mackey, founder of the ICRB. These two large research projects; 1) *The Linguistic Composition of the Nations of the World* and 2) *The Written Languages of the World: a Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use* have allowed the ICRB to set up a unique data bank on the languages of the world, from both demolinguistic and sociolinguistic points of view.

It can be said as a conclusion, that the project on The *Written Languages of India*, (which is part of the second ICRB world project noted above) has become, through the questionnaire used to collect data, a project on the use of languages in major sectors of social activity. With regard to this point and many others, the project on the languages of India will be epoch-making and the results will be received with great interest by the world's scientific community.

There is no doubt, that Dr. Kloss (who unfortunately is not present today due to his passing away in June 1987) would have been very proud and satisfied with the results of the Indian project and that he would have seen it as the finest jewel of the works he has guided and supervised since 1969 with Dr. McConnell.

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Language Teaching and Language Planning*

Lorne Laforge

It is a fact that language planning has recently been promoted to the status of a discipline in the realm of applied linguistics in Universities and Research Centers. Other fields of knowledge such as demography and law are also flirting with it. The International Center for Research on Bilingualism has also recently displayed its language planning colours and has reoriented its research projects towards a strategy to meet the needs of our modern society.

Most of these needs have been selfdefined and date back to the beginning of mankind and are as old as the languages themselves: the need of an official language or official languages for the commodity of public administration; the need of an efficient language for communication purposes, which implies normalization, unequivocal terminology and standardization of messages; the need of a linguistic policy or legislation regulating the competition between languages on a given territory; the need of a linguistic norm to standardize and enrich the linguistic stock of languages, while harmonizing intercommunication and the use of linguistic variation; the need to determine which languages will be taught and learned in the public schools and which language will be taught and learned as mother tongue or as second or third language, or even as a foreign language.

All these needs have been revealed or confirmed by the survey, which the Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India has carried out jointly with the ICRB of Laval University in Quebec City, Canada. This project entitled **The Written Languages of the World: India** was funded generously by the International Development Research Center (IDRC) of Canada. As a survey, it has gathered sufficient and interesting data to feed and stimulate language planning activities not only in India but elsewhere in the world where similar situations are met.

If I refer to the position paper prepared for this round table, my attention is drawn more specifically towards the general long term objectives of the project in India. My interests are attracted immediately towards the practical benefits such as: 1) the opening of a "dialogue between language planners and those working in particular areas of applied linguistics, ranging from language teaching to production of literacy materials and manuals, to those involved in problems of communication". 2) My concern and preferences turn towards language teaching/learning and language planning, as the survey covers school and learning institutions on all levels (primary to university). It can therefore readily be seen what languages have most benefited from literacy and educational programs. This underlines the survey's descriptive, sociolinguistic objective of determining *what* language is taught, *where* and *when*? The problem of a sufficient number of trained teachers can be seen as a by-product of the effort made in educational development for each language (see Position Paper, "Practical Benefits(5)).

The teaching of the official language or languages, either as a mother tongue or as a second language, is one of the major components of language planning. That is my deepest feeling and conviction.

The teaching of a mother tongue aims essentially at three linguistic objectives: 1) to teach the oral and written code or norm of the language; 2) to train the child and the teenager to use a strategy concerning linguistic variation; in other words, to master the registers and styles in the language and the knowledge of alternative forms used by other communities speaking the same language and 3) to give the child and the teenager linguistic competence in the written and oral form of the language, in all types of communication. This implies that the teachers of all disciplines or subjects are also mother tongue teachers.

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The objectives of second language teaching are linguistic, cultural and political. As far as linguistic objectives are concerned, the main one is to start the linguistic development of a person in a second language by mastering essential components of the target language, so that he or she quickly and adequately acquires a genuine communicative competence in accordance with his or her own linguistic needs. The improvement of this initial competence follows but also depends on each individual. As far as culture is concerned, the teaching of a second language aims at giving the learners a certain initiation to the culture of the target language group. It is not yet certain if second language teachers know exactly how to deal with this challenge. Most frequently each teacher manages to get along according to his convictions, his interests, his documentation, according to what the teaching materials offer or by simply improvising with all kinds of initiatives.

As far as politics is concerned, second language teaching is supposed to develop in the new speaker a minimum of solidarity with the other group, a solidarity of which the necessity and intensity depend on the kind of relations existing between the groups in contact; they can oscillate between a minimum (a show of sympathy) and a maximum (the integration of their aspirations). Little is said about cultural and political objectives in second language teaching. Generally, in the past, methods and often the teaching itself have stuck to linguistic objectives. To my knowledge, this position is eminently questionable.

On the organizational level, the teaching of a mother tongue and of a second language mobilizes a huge pedagogical structure. On the pedagogical level the educational system must design suitable programs in harmony with the government language policy or language planning. By setting up objectives and elaborating curricula, the school system is the principal agent for the spread of languages and the quality of their usage. In that regard the school has to adopt teaching strategies, elaborate text-books and teaching material and choose a suitable methodology based on psychological, linguistic and social theories. To top it all, the school system must train the teaching personel; initial training at normal school, in the faculties of education, or in-service training for teachers already performing.

One does not have to go into detail to know that the setting up of a strategy for implicit or explicit language planning always requires a teaching/learning component, that involves arrangements to deal with the actual linguistic training of future generations. It seems now commonly accepted among the experts in language planning, that a theory or a model of language planning must describe the role of the school system in the planning process. This description must state clearly the role of the school system in the transmission and the normalization of a legitimate usage of the language and the ways the school system will work out to establish harmonious relations between different ethnolinguistic communities, through the teaching/learning of second languages.

Needless to say that the trend in language planning has not always been oriented in that direction. The truth is that the foundation of language planning as a discipline needs to be revised because linguistic *normalization*, for which language teaching/learning is an important tool, has not yet become for some theoreticians part of their language planning agenda. As Cobarrubias has recently pointed out "Standardization, understood basically as the development of a vernacular into a language, was the early agenda of language planning... The issue of languages in contact competing for status and linguistic equality was not part of the agenda. However, this is a fundamental concern of normalization and, I believe, an important difference between the two processes. Normalization involves, as we said, three types of language expansion: functional, demographical and geographical spread. Standardization involves the development of supraregional variety, and thus, a considerable degree of functional spread." (Cobarrubias, 1987).

Normalization makes the point that linguistic equality is the ultimate goal and thus, that all functions (not just a few), needed for communication in a modern society have to spread.

Thus the classical language planning process was based on standardization alone and never included the normalization process. Some authors (Ninyoles, 1972) have always considered that language planning provides the tool for normalization. The task of expanding the numbers of speakers/users is essential to normalization. Thus effective strategies for language teaching/learning become an important tool for the normalization process. In contradistinction, the literature on standardization was also unclear as to how a supra-regional variety could evolve. The literature on language planning considered the area of second language acquisition/learning to be a separate province (Cobarrubias, 1987). Normalization considers second language acquisition/learning an integral part of the process. And Cobarrubias concludes "...if normalization is to be part of the agenda of language planning, we have to either reformulate the theoretical framework of language planning, or think of a discipline that will include second language teaching/learning as a proper part of language planning."

Some of the autonomous communities of Spain such as Catalan and the Basque country have made clear in a recent language planning effort, the importance they attached to second language teaching/learning for normalization. For the language planners of these communities, for example, normalization requires training teachers, school officers and public administrators in the use of the regional languages. Furthermore, it requires the implementation of literacy programs for the general population, including those who have acquired the regional language but have not developed literacy skills in it, as well as those who have never learned the language and wish to speak it and eventually read and write it. As I said earlier, the choice of effective methodologies to do the job is an essential part of the process. According to Cobarrubias:

> "The literature on the subject is substantial and the need of integrating language teaching/learning to the task of language planning is clearer than ever". (Cobarrubias, 1987).

It would be a little naive for us to think that such a statement ends all controversies and explains real or apparent paradoxes that our recent research has revealed concerning the implication of language teaching/learning in language planning. A close look at some facts has urged us to formulate the following remarks:

1. In contradistinction to those theoreticians of the early days of language planning, who think that language teaching/learning is a separate province, there is a large portion of society, particularly its leaders, who believe that language teaching/learning is the most natural, if not the most efficient and sometimes the only way to solve linguistic problems and realize the linguistic management of an area;

2. Language teaching/learning (specially for second or foreign languages) has not really been the object of a systematic conceptualization and extensive research either from theoreticians of language planning or from specialists in language teaching/learning;

3. The general trend among the professionnal language planners has been to abandon the language teaching/learning field to the school systems or to the national or provincial departments of education, leaving them the responsibility of elaborating and developing a language policy for schools;

4. To our knowledge there has never been a formal proposition to create an office or a board with the mandate to coordinate or implement a language teaching/learning scheme in a global linguistic plan. While in other sectors

responsible for linguistic activities such as terminology, translation, normalization, posting, mass media, there does exist secretariats, offices, councils, academies, generalitats, etc.;

5. Where the school system has been commissioned to apply a linguistic implementation plan through language teaching/ learning, rare are the circumstances where the entreprise has fully succeeded;

6. On the other hand, a large number of spontaneous movements or initiatives, which at the beginning started developing outside the official system, in a marginal if not clandestine way (movements such as the French immersion courses in Canada, the Ikastolas of the Basque country, break away movements from school traditions), seem to have achieved better results in implementing the language plan of the community than the existing school structures. These facts have urged us to dig deeper for further evidence, which I will relate later and comment on in my conclusions.

Let us now return to our initial statement.

1. It is a fact that a majority of people think their school system and in particular the teaching/learning of languages is the best equipped to implement language policies. The role given to the educational sector is sometime exaggerated, and its importance is inflated and incompatible with the traditional role it has been asked to perform.

This statement has been attested by the briefs twenty years ago of the Commission on the situation of the French language in the Province of Québec, Canada, better known as the Gendron Commission. There was a consensus among the petitioners, mostly among those coming from the business or financial world, that the school system was the only agent to solve all the problems created by linguistic tensions between anglophones and francophones in Québec. Some myths are hard to eradicate and even in 1987 there are still some businessmen who think that the school alone is responsible for the lack of knowledge of languages and the lack of knowledge of the components of our society, both of which are essential in facilitating language management in the business (Guillotte, 1987). The same position was reiterated by a Swiss professor, Jean-Bernard Lang, who reinforced the idea of a school system capable of bridging linguistic gaps by the teaching/learning of languages alone.

The important question that we have to ask is the following: Is the school system, i.e. the language teaching/learning sector, in a position to understand fully the extent of the task which is being asked by society? Is the school able to generate the changes explicated in a language plan. Some authorities express serious doubts on this matter, stressing the fact that a school system is never permeable to change, that the school is the weakest cell of society (McNamara, 1972). Others think that the school system is controled by conservative elements of society, that the system has become too heavy to budge, too huge, too tentacular, so that it is almost impossible to think of reform coming from within. On the one hand, a positive view of the school, but on the other a sceptical appraisal of the role played by the school system in the elaboration and implementation of a language planning program.

2. The second statement referred to the absence of a systematic conceptualization and extensive research in the field of language planning and education concerning the planning of language teaching/learning. The late professor H.H. (David) Stern is one of the only specialists in language didactics to have tried, in his book entitled *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching* (1983), to explore the possible applications of language planning to language teaching/learning. In a recent article *French as a Second Language in Canada: a Case Study of "Emergent" Second*

Language Planning, Stern admitted: "I have for many years advocated the application of concepts of language planning to the provision of second and foreign languages (L2) in national societies and their educational systems. By and large, L2 provision is haphazard and very much the result of educational traditions, historical circumstances, and political and social pressures. There is very little planning in evidence." (Stern, 1987:297).

"To our knowledge, this model of language planning extended to second language provision is not yet applied in its integral form anywhere", Stern declared in 1983. But he gave instances of studies which illustrate parts or aspects of the planning process: 1) the Modern Languages Project of the Council of Europe, which between 1971 and 1981 attempted to develop a consensus among European nations on standards of language proficiency for adults; 2) in 1969, a study in Great Britain of national needs in modern languages led to two more limited projects, each of which illustrates well the kind of surveys needed in second language planning. One was a survey of curricula and proficiency levels in modern languages within a state system of education. This study provided a map of language provisions in Britain (James and Rouve 1973). The second study was a survey of national manpower requirements in foreign languages. Nearer to our own experience are some great historical reports on language situations, such as the Canadian *Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (1967-1970) and Québec's own *Report on the Situation of the French Language* (1969-1972), which made policy recommendations for the improvement of language teaching/learning as part of its overall aims to cultivate and promote harmonious relations between the two main ethnolinguistic communities.

3. Nevertheless, the tendency among language-planners is to issue general recommendations without making sure there will be a follow-up mecanism for such recommendations. The language planning specialists will tell you that since they have produced the interface, it is up to the education departments to make use of it and adapt their propositions to the school system. Not a single study at status or corpus levels has designed meaningful *implementation schedules* or steps for civil servants, administrators or teachers, in order that they can adapt to an effective application of a coherent planning for second language teaching and learning. This kind of scenario leads to a make-shift planning and implementation, to the importation of foreign models, which are totally inappropriate for the local situation.

4. We have never seen in the field of language teaching and learning the creation of a coordination bureau based on the model created for terminology, normalization, surveillance offices, etc.

5. I do not want to sound alarmist or pessimistic but it is far from reassuring to assess the experiences of school systems, which have been commissioned to implement the total State language policy and realized how badly they have failed.

To illustrate my point I will describe the case of Guinea in Western Africa, as a case reported by a French sociologist, Louis-Jean Calvet. Guinea had decided to go as far as it could go in applying its language policy, symbolically speaking, that is. A small country of about 4 million inhabitants with twenty languages, of which the principal were Peul (1,200,000), Malinke (750,000) and Soso (650,000). When Guinea gained her independance the Guinean Democratic Party took the official stand of promoting African languages. It was decided to teach eight of the most dynamic languages of the country: Peul, Malinke, Soso, Kisié, Loma, Guerzé, Bassari, Koniagui. The initial choice was reduced to six languages in 1978 due to a lack of teachers for the last two.

It was decided by the Party to favour two strategies for the implementation of this policy: through schooling and adult literacy. The implementation took place according to the following scenario:

- 1962 National literacy campaign for adults in the 8 official languages of the State.
- 1964 Second literacy campaign, introducing the teaching of the national languages as a subject at the primary school level (2h/week).
- 1967 The students at the University of Conakry write their dissertations in the languages of Guinea in the field of phonology (Problems of standardization of alphabets).
- 1968 Teaching in the primary schools at the first grade is done in the national languages with the objective of reaching the last grade of the primary school by 1974. French would be introduced in the third grade as a subject (4h/week), then used as the teaching medium at the secondary level with the national languages being taught as school subjects.
- 1970 Functional literacy campaign launched with the help of UNESCO.
- 1971 Guinea breaks its relations with UNESCO.
- 1972 The founding of a Language Academy the particular role of which is to unify or standardize dialectal forms.
- 1973 New literacy campaign for adults.
- 1978 The implementation program for national languages is four years late in its schedule; it was only in 1983 that teaching of national languages was to be introduced in the second year of the secondary level.
- 1984 Sekou Touré's death. The new leaders decide to suspend the teaching/learning of national languages even if they continue to be taught as a school subject; a research plan is initiated, which will help to choose only one national language by 1990.

To sum it up bluntly, the language policy of Guinea was a magnificent failure generating in the neighbouring countries a genuine fear for all that is called sociolinguistics, language policy or language planning. The post-mortem analysis of this failure reveals interesting facts. The literacy campaign for adults has generated an important illiteracy backlash, due to the fact that the peasants who lack reading material have no occasion to put into practice what they had just learned; they had learned how to write but since they had nothing to read, they soon forgot how to write (theoretically the weekly newspaper was published after every rainfall). But it was really in school that the failure was the most accute and most instructive for the following reasons:

1) the absence of textbooks or methods (the only printer in Conakry could not keep up with publishing requirement);
2) The problem of dialect standardization;
3) A cruel need of competent teachers in the national languages, in spite of the creation of nine specialized normal schools;
4) The inherent difficulty resulting from the division of the territory in 8 then 6 linguistic zones (for example, the child of a civil servant could start his schooling in Peul then follow it in Malinke according to the professional posting of his parents);
5) The resistance manifested by the teachers, the technocrats and the parents, not at all convinced of the usefulness of teaching /learning in the national languages.

This list of technical problems whose importance could vary, could be applicable to any situation implying the teaching and learning of languages. Of this failure Calvet draws the following conclusions: "It is always possible to start mass teaching without textbooks, with teachers that are not well trained (after all the Guinean teachers spoke the languages they were supposed to teach better than French); but the language policy of the Guinean Democratic Party did not have the backing of the Guinean people, in spite of the fact it intended to liberate them culturally. However, the policy had no justification. French was the unique preoccupation of the people, the only language offering social promotion, opening doors to interesting careers, in short the only language giving access to a certain "power"." (Calvet,1986).

My last point will serve to illustrate exactly the opposite position and to stress the fact that a large number of spontaneous movements such as the French immersion movement in Anglophone Canada has succeeded, because it started with the parents' backing. One can say that the immersion movement is the result of an improvised type of planning, developing outside and in spite of the school system. In fact, the traditional French teaching program had the unfamous reputation in English Canada of not producing bilingual pupils - which is also highly exaggerated.

The absence of meaningful changes in planning in the schools and also (one has to admit it) the socio-political agitation of the Quebeckers, triggered the Anglophone parents to take their children's future into their own hands and to elaborate an "emergent" second language plan.

"By the early seventies French immersion had begun to spread like wildfire throughout Canada, spurred on by parental demands which eventually led in 1977 to the creation of an association and a powerful lobby group, Canadian Parents for French, and in 1978 to an equally surprising association of immersion teachers" (Stern, 1987).

This movement today can count on 250,000 students registered in immersion classes. Five years from now it is predicted that it will double in number. We have to admit that the immersion movement benefited from favorable circumstances: "The demands for bilingualism which had led to legislation, the Official Languages Act of 1969, the creation of the office of Commissioner of Official Languages, and the provision of language training in the Federal Public Service, as well as in commerce and industry - all this together created an awareness of language issues in the general public. It is, however, particularly the success of the spread of immersion education in the school system and the language training for adults that broke the spell of the inveterate belief that Anglophones are incapable of learning French." (Stern, 1987).

We are dealing here with a "success story", a social phenomenon, a movement which did not originate from the students, nor from the school administrators or the teachers. It did not come from university staff, experts in social psychology, in linguistics or language didactics. In fact there is nothing comparable in the field of language didactics or in language planning. Quite emphatically Stern once stated that French immersion represents "the greatest pedagogical revolution of our time".

The outcome of this 25 year effort is difficult to assess. It has the singular merit of having grown without a global original plan. But it has to build its own landing gear once in flight.

From this short overview we can conclude that these studies, surveys and projects are only the beginning of second language planning. However they suggest that the hit-or-miss approach will gradually give way to a more planned process of deciding on language provisions. In the light of research, such as the Indian survey and experiments in all parts of the world which our International Center is monitoring, we can timidly start to design a model or models of second language planning.

First we think that steps in the development of a second language plan could be similar to those outlined for general language planning.

1) A fact-finding survey examines the *language situation* of the speech community concerned, identifies the existing language provisions and interprets the language needs of society;

2) The fact-finding survey leads to a *language plan* or several "alternative plans", i.e. a rational selection and arrangement of languages in order of priority to provide for use in schools, universities, language centres and research institutions;

3) A *linguistic planning* phase: for each language a norm or norms, as standards for second language proficiency, must be chosen and the ground prepared for the preparation of pedagogical grammars, word lists and sociocultural and sociolinguistic guides;

4) The *implementation* phase would suggest steps to take within the school system to provide for language instruction up to the level and extent suggested by the plan: the development of curricula, the preparation of teaching programs and teaching materials, the planning of teachers' education.

5) An *evaluation* phase, envisaged for language planning, is equally applicable to the development of a second-language plan. In this phase steps will be taken to assess whether the execution of the plan leads to the recommended levels of second-language proficiency among the population. The evaluation of the plan would lead to its revision and become part of an ongoing cyclical process of review, renewed planning, implementation and evaluation followed by a further revision of the existing plan.

Finally, it is highly recommended that planning in the field of language teaching and learning receive the backing of the population of the community it will serve. Language planners must be aware that they have to demonstrate and convince the people of the usefulness of their propositions in order to obtain from the community their complete cooperation and backing.

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Remarks on Survey Goals and Data Authenticity Validity

R.C. Nigam

For the last two days we have had the opportunity of having a detailed introduction to the project on the "Written Languages of India" given by Dr. Mahapatra and also an overview of the practical and theoretical implications of the survey regarding "Language and National Development Strategies" given by Dr. McConnell. Professor Mackey introduced us to the historical background of the launching of the worldwide Written Languages project in which he himself played a very crucial role along with the late Professor Kloss. Very valuable and instructive papers on different topics relevant to the survey have also been presented by experts in their fields, while a stimulating exchange of views has taken place during our discussions on several problems, these being both of a practical and theoretical nature.

In this Round Table, therefore, we have assembled to take stock of the situation of the survey we have undertaken. That is, after this exercise has been completed and after all the details of the survey are given and also discussed to a certain extent, we now hope to make an assessment of the value - both theoretical as well as practical - of the work on the **"Written Languages of India"** to the field of the sociology of language. The volume is well nigh complete and is almost ready for publication. (September, 1989).

Regarding the whole question of the evaluation of this enormous exercise, the present moment may be a bit in advance of the most appropriate time. I would like to refer to the interesting comparison made by Mr. Verma regarding the "Preview" of a film, which is not yet released to the viewers and on whose judgment the success or failure of the production should be decided. Here the viewers are the community of scholars of various disciplines, the data users or perhaps the planners.

My situation in this event as a participant could be compared to a horse race, where the first four dominant position holders are: 1) the Registrar General, representing the Government of India, 2) the Director, ICRB at Laval University, 3) the IDRC, Ottawa, and 4) the McConnell-Mahapatra duo, while the rest, including me (as they say in the horserace terminology), "also ran". All the same, I certainly have reason to feel honoured by the real privilege of being associated with this "major achievement" (as Dr. Mahapatra has said) in the field of studies of the Sociology of Language in India. If not an altogether timely evaluation, we perhaps may try to see for what aims and objectives the project was launched and whether through its exercise, we have been able to make any headway towards achieving our goals.

The project was intended to provide baseline data on the world's written languages. This data should help its users to find answers to the queries like (here I am only repeating what my colleagues have already dwelt upon):

1. What are the language varieties (i.e. names and their linguistic and legal status);
2. These varieties are spoken by whom (i.e. numerical strength and geographical distribution);
3. They are written in what manner (i.e. scripts and spelling);
4. They are disseminated in what form (i.e. pamphlets, periodicals, books, etc.);
5. They are used for what purposes (i.e. education, media communication, religion, government, etc.).

The above details of this baseline data were, however, not prepared in a void. Information was available in the Registrar General's Department through the National Library or other such institutions, with the Press Information Bureau, with the Education Directorates, with Radio and Television Directorates and even from the works of individual experts. But one felt that the data was available in such a scattered fashion, that its use for examining questions of process and change in both comparative and diachronic perspectives was minimal. So the purpose of the survey was to gather information from all possible sources and establish at least a *better organized factual data base* for users, researchers and also planners.

Theoretical dimensions of the project are concerned with:

1. The *linguistic* aspect, (i.e. characteristics of the language corpus);
2. The *artistic* aspect, (i.e. achievements in poetry, drama, fiction, epics, philosophical and religious thought);
3. The *sociological* aspect of the press and mass media;
4. The aspect of language *status*, (i.e. degree of elaboration and uses to which the language is put in diverse social domains);

During these two days, I believe, those participants who had previously not seen the questionnaire for the Indian survey have had time to turn over the pages of some of the reports placed on the table and perhaps have seen that the data gathered does cover the various areas of theoretical dimensions just enumerated. However, as Dr. Mahapatra had explained earlier, the language corpus or the artistic aspect, i.e. achievements in poetry, drama etc., were not given as much importance while achievements in expository prose and the *degree and modes of use* of the language in society, were considered of greater relevance to the project.

Inasmuch as the coverage of the above types of information (data) is concerned, it is felt that the possible has been done. As I mentioned before, any appropriate evaluation of the data and the sources from which it has been gathered, is perhaps premature. However, one observation here may not be found irrelevant. This observation is in line with what Kjolseth in 1974 in his prefatory remarks in Volume 1 on the *Americas* (Kloss-McConnell, 1978) has observed, i.e. "in the cross cultural or cross national studies (like the current project of worldwide coverage) all the categories (which are included in this project) are the product of social definition or estimation" (p.14) and as such the variety of the categories is bound to be large. One should perhaps try to keep the basis for the sources of data broad, rather than limit oneself to a single or narrow type of source, in which the references or the works included are "highly narrow linguistic and/or religious interests", or from a single authorized agency such as the government of the country concerned, which itself is often found to be burdened with multifarious considerations. Volume 1 on the *Americas* appears to suffer from the former difficulty, while in the Indian volume the latter difficulty appears to be the cause of certain limitations. But here options of limitations of data sources were clear, i.e. if the project Directors wished the Indian Government to come to their help, then they also had to underline the limitations of that source, which was the Indian Government in this case.

I personally do not have a final solution to offer. But the suggestion is to look to some alternative sources as well. These sources may not be comprehensive in coverage or considered authentic or officially approved by the Government. Yet an honest attempt made - albeit not of a fully comprehensive coverage - should be considered better than no sources considered at all. Here I refer to the data included in our publication which was taken only from the National Library, while the feasibility of presenting data on publications from other non-official sources, was not considered. Similarly, information regarding use of language in education from institutions run by religious or other private organizations in India was also left out.

But perhaps the manpower limitation and budgetary constraints in the process would be very valid explanations for the above. I remember Dr. McConnell often humorously telling us that "We cannot possibly do everything. If we did so, then what would be left for future researchers to do?".

The last objective of the project could be noted as an emphasis on its operational dimension. In this connection our late founder-editor of the project, Heinz Kloss, had expressed a fond hope that once having access to a better factual base, the policy makers would be induced to make use of this base when considering highly consequential decisions, affecting the future of entire cultural groups. I would also like to agree with this "fond hope", i.e. that the policy makers do take notice of such honest attempts as the present one. Our community of scholarly fraternity is quite enthusiastic, rather more often than not, that the moment a project of sociological content is planned, its "aim" is declared to help policy making. But my query is: Are the policy makers found enthusiastic enough to take notice of these attempts? I should perhaps like my colleagues from other parts of the world to relate their experiences on this point. We certainly need to strike a balance somewhere. My appeal to the expert scholars would be to continue their efforts of presenting their useful factual information on sociological problems to the planners, who may also be involved in policy decisions, My hope will also remain as ever, that among the planners at least gradual inroads are made by the researchers. In this way, the former will be in a better position to give due appreciation to the conclusions arrived at in important research and surveys of a comprehensive character and even make use of them in the public interest. I hope my colleagues join me in my statement that there is no dearth of ideals, safeguards, constitutional provisions and so on on paper, but when we come to their application or implementation in the interest of those very populations for whom all provisions and safeguards are declared, a lot remains to be done.

Towards the end of my note, I would like to yet recount that the founding editors or fathers (one of whom is with us here, i.e. Prof. Mackey) had visualised that it was quite reasonable to imagine that a full coverage may not be achieved, say in the first step of the survey. So this first step, which my colleagues McConnell and Mahapatra have directed, has indeed been a "giant step", but all the same we have perhaps yet "miles to go". At least *two milestones yet to be reached* are those of the coverage of English and Sanskrit. In the original volume of Kloss-McConnell, 1978, there is a mention of *close-up projects* like an extension project - where a survey is undertaken on additional information on languages omitted from the purview of the initial project, the study of which is considered of great theoretical and practical value. These left out languages are, as already mentioned, English and Sanskrit. Happily the general consensus of the current deliberations has been in favour of the taking up of such a project and completing the picture. Let us, therefore, hope that the deciding authority i.e. the Government of India and the funding authority i.e. IDRC also concur with this consensus.

Hindi in Non-Hindi Regions of India

S.P. Srivastava

This paper deals with the position of Hindi in Non-Hindi regions of the country on the basis of the data gathered during the course of the present survey, *The Written Languages of India - A survey of the degree and modes of use.*

Of all the fifteen (15) scheduled languages of the country, Hindi, declared official language of the Union Government, as well as many States and Union Territories of India, occupies the most important position. It alone accounts for the largest number of speakers (208,514,005) constituting 38.04% of the total population of the country (1971 Census, Chandra Sekhar, 1977). See Table 1.

The questionnaire on Hindi within the present survey was canvassed in as many as seventeen (17) States and Union Territories where the language had been returned by one lakh (100,000) or more speakers. As a result, it was surveyed in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chandigarh, Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka (Mysore), Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. (See Table 1).

In order to isolate the non-Hindi regions from the above mentioned States and Union Territories, it becomes necessary to define what precisely "Hindi region" means. The language censuses of 1961 and 1971 have projected faithfully two very distinct policy decisions with regards to the Hindi speaking area.

In the 1961 census, the genetic classification of mother tongues on the model of George Abraham Grierson was attempted and the Hindi region was strictly confined to Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and the Union Territory of Delhi. As such, according to the 1961 census, speakers of Hindi have been shown as follows:

Hindi	Eastern Hindi (Awadhi, Bagheli, Chhattisgarhi, etc.)
	Western Hindi (Bangru, Braj Bhasha, Bundeli Kannauji, etc.)
	Hindustani (Khari Boli in Devanagari script)

Besides, a large number of mother tongues/languages viz; the Pahari Group (Central Pahari - Kumauni, Garhwali), the Bihari Group (Maithili, Magahi/Magadhi, Bhojpuri, Nagpuri, etc.) and the Rajasthani Group (Marwari, Mewati, Malvi, Harawati, Nimadi and Ahirwati etc.) were identified and maintained as distinct entities.

But in 1971 a different approach was taken regarding the classification of mother tongues. The language tables based on the linguistic classification scheme of the 1961 census were critically reviewed afresh, taking into consideration the on-going sociolinguistic changes in the vast areas concerned. It was the functional classification of the mother tongues having been returned from the regions where the language of the primary school above the first grade was Hindi and only Hindi that came to the fore; i.e. where Hindi had long been declared as regional official language *vide* the Bihar Official Language Act 1950, the Rajasthan Language Act 1952. Naturally it became the language of medium of instruction too in Bihar and Rajasthan. As Kloss (1972; 255) claims: "Whenever the language of the Primary schools above the first grade is Hindi, and Hindi only, you might presume that the local speech variety is in the process of being dialectalized and that within a foreseeable future, the speakers of the vernacular will consider their vernacular to stand to Hindi in a dialect-like relationship". Thus the policy of functional classification had definitely far-reaching effects, not only in redefining the Hindi area as such, but also in substantiating Hindi's claim as the single largest language of the nation both in number of speakers and in geographical spread (Mahapatra, 1986). Consequently, fifty (50) more mother tongues (with speaker strength above 10,000) belonging previously to the Rajasthani, Pahari and Bihari Groups came under Hindi, thereby settling all the controversies to rest. These mother tongues are: Bagri-Rajasthani, Banjari, Bhadrawahi, Bharmauri/Gaddi, Bhojpuri, Chambeali, Curahi, Dhundhari, Garhwali, Gojri, Harauti, Hindustani, Jaipuri, Jaunsari, Kangri, Khairari, Khortha/Khotta, Kulvi, Kumauni, Kurmali Thar, Lamani/Lambadi, Madhesi, Magadhi/Magahi, Maithili, Malvi, Mandeali, Marwari, Mewari, Mewati, Nagpuria, Nimadi, Pahari, Panchpargania, Rajasthani, Sadan/Sadri, Sirmauri and Sondwari, etc. Under the present survey, these mother tongues have been shown as variants of Hindi under language corpus (3.3) in the questionnaire and their literatures (narrative and non-narrative) have been included under Hindi. Thus a sociolinguistically oriented classification of mother tongues brought four more States viz., Bihar, Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and the Union Territory of Chandigarh into its fold. Today the Hindi language area comprises; Bihar, Chandigarh, Delhi, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, in other words, six (6) States and two (2) Union Territories.

If we leave these six States and two Union Territories out of the seventeen States and Union Territories where the Hindi questionnaire was used, only nine States, namely: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and West Bengal may be considered non-Hindi Regions for the present study.

By looking at the data collected from these States in respect of the use of Hindi in eight (8) well defined domains: Religion, School, Mass-Media, Administration, Courts, Legislature, Manufacturing Industry and Sales and Service Industry, it appears that Hindi is used uniformly in preaching, teaching, ritual and liturgy by the people (Hindi speakers) settled in these States. Its use has been also found among Moslems (Islam), Jains, Sikhs and Christians too; this is evident from a number of translations and original religious writings in these religions. In the domain of schools, the data seem to be insufficient, partly because of its lack of availability from Government agencies in spite of our best efforts to get them, and partly because of the vastness of the topic. But, whatever came to us on this topic, the State of Maharashtra is far ahead of others in providing the facilities of primary, middle and secondary education through the Hindi medium. There are 503 Government primary schools, 223 middle and secondary schools, 16 higher secondary schools/colleges and 6 universities with Hindi departments. Second come Karnataka and Gujarat in respect of education through Hindi as a medium. Both States have almost similar treatment of Hindi. It is worth mentioning here that only 1.61% of the total population of Gujarat speak Hindi and only 1,80% of the total population of Karnataka has been registered as Hindi speakers, yet both Governments have accorded legal status to Hindi in these respective States. In Gujarat "it is the official language of Gujarat along with Gujarati" *vide* Gujarat Act No. I, dated February 15th, 1961; and in Karnataka, very recently it has become the official language in "some of its regions" *vide* Karnataka Government Sec. No DPAR 6 LML, March 8th, 1983. In Karnataka, 27 primary schools, 14 secondary schools, 312 higher secondary schools with provisions for Hindi as a subject and 5 universities/post graduate colleges for Hindi as a subject have been recorded. In Gujarat, 107 primary schools, 21 middle schools, 27 secondary schools and 20 higher secondary schools have been noted. Also, there are 5 universities/post graduate institutions having provisions for Hindi as a subject at the higher level.

Thereafter, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Karnataka, Punjab, West Bengal and Assam have shown almost similar growth which may be regarded encouraging. Figures regarding schools available in these States are through the National Council of Educational Research and Training (N.C.E.R.T.) survey (1981), the data of which is at least 10 years old. According to this survey, Punjab has 318 primary schools, West Bengal has 448 primary schools and Assam has 249 primary schools. The middle schools in Punjab number 160, in West Bengal 95 and in Assam 122. Higher secondary schools/ colleges in Punjab are reported to be 64, in West Bengal 69. The figures for Assam higher secondary schools are included in middle schools.

In the remaining three States - Jammu & Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa - Andhra Pradesh is reported to have more provisions for propagation of Hindi. There are 76 primary schools, 99 middle schools, 44 higher secondary schools and 5 universities/post-graduate Institutions for higher studies in Hindi language and literature. In Orissa, 29 primary schools, 28 middle schools, 17 secondary schools, 6 higher secondary schools and 3 universities/post graduate colleges have been recorded as imparting education through the Hindi medium. The position of education through Hindi medium in Jammu and Kashmir requires yet more attention. In this State the population of Hindi speakers is 15.06%. But schooling facilities through only 13 primary schools, 21 secondary/higher secondary schools and 1 (one) university may hardly cater to the needs of most of the people.

In the field of mass-media (oral and written), the use of Hindi in almost all the nine States is commendable, at least in respect of Radio time, though not in the quality of contents. Radio and T.V. (though a recent phenomena in India), films (13,036) tapes, cassettes (120,203), music records (2,096) have so far played a very significant role in the propagation of Hindi and, admittedly, it is because of these efforts that Hindi has become relatively more effective on the national level. Though the radio, T.V. centres are centrally controlled, the broadcasting times from centres located in non-Hindi regions are quite satisfactory, for example, 10,680 minutes per month from Guwahati/Dibrugarh, 9,343 minutes per month from Bombay, 3,960 minutes per month from Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh), 7,220 minutes per month from Srinagar (J & K), 785 minutes per month from Mysore, 1,140 minutes per month from Silchar, 14,483 minutes per month from Jammu (J & K), 7,415 minutes per month from Jalandhar (Pundjab) etc. Besides there are the regular broadcasts from All India Radio, Delhi. The written mass media like newspapers, magazines, bulletins, etc. need a more elaborate treatment. Here I shall mention only a few. There are 18 daily newspapers in publication from Maharashtra, 9 from West Bengal, 1 each from Karnataka, Jammu & Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh. The bulk of publications come from the Hindi regions. The magazines of different frequencies (weekly, fortnightly, monthly & yearly) also have been reported mainly from Hindi regions. Of course, annual publications of magazines from non-Hindi regions are no less encouraging. There are 206 from West Bengal, 166 from Punjab, 103 from Orissa, 338 from Maharashtra, 17 from Karnataka, 10 from Jammu & Kashmir, 36 from Gujarat, 5 from Assam, 22 from Andhra Pradesh and they can certainly be regarded as a barometer of creative activities for Hindi in these non-Hindi regions.

Now in the domains of Administration, Courts and Legislatures, the use of Hindi in these nine States shows similar trends. Its use in verbal and written communications at the level of the national Government is uniformally widespread. But at regional and local government levels, its use in verbal form varies from frequent to occasional. At the written level it is in stiff competition with the dominant languages of the respective regions. In court, it is confined to giving evidence only. In assemblies of the respective States, Hindi is used in debate, formal meetings and discussions but not in written form anywhere.

In the domain of industries (manufacturing and sales/service) the use of Hindi both oral and written in large and medium sized industries is encouraging. It is in a position to replace the use of English. But in small scale industries, it has yet to go a long way. There, it is English versus regional languages such as Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, etc.

Regarding the agencies of propagating Hindi in non-Hindi regions, the place of Maharashtra is again higher than in other States. Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samity, Wardha is, perhaps, the oldest institution set up in non-Hindi regions for the promotion of Hindi; and its services have widely been acclaimed and admired from time to time. Equally commendable are the services of the School of Languages - Ahmedabad and Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan in Gujarat.

A number of good bilingual dictionaries have appeared through their efforts. Bharatiya Bhasha Parishad and Bangiya Hindi Parishad - Calcutta, in West Bengal need no comments. Their works, which show a complete dedication for the case of Hindi, speak for themselves. Assam Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samity - Guwahati in Assam has translated a good number of books into tribal languages of the region. The Mysore Hindi Prachar Parishad does not lag behind either.

However, here our main aim is to underline the scope of development of Hindi, which is not only the language of Hindi regions, but also very widely used in the non-Hindi regions. If the language is to reach its desired goal, it is not enough to plan through the status dimension only but also to plan adequately its language corpus. We want to emphasize that corpus planning is much more important for its development and propagation especially through mass media. I would like to comment on the quality of radio broadcast content given the often heard criticisms about its lack of comprehensibility by the common listeners. The same is the case with textbooks and even the other materials meant for wider circulation. The unique characteristics of the mass media audience must be given first attention because of its complex nature, which will determine to a considerable degree the form and quality of the communication itself. Rigorous planning in the area of communication is being undertaken at the levels of: 1) performance of the communicators; 2) effectiveness of the language used in the process; 3) performance of the audience of various categories and groupings. Their range of literacy from minimal to high, their range of age, backgrounds of economic status and concern for political and philosophical stances must be kept in mind while using a variety of language on the air or otherwise (Leabo, 1980).

Further, it must be emphasized that Hindi is not a variety only enriched by external sources only. It must also simultaneously attend to its internal sources. Hindi, with as many as 37 varieties mentioned and enumerated earlier and a dozen patois used in vast regions by several millions of native speakers, has a large potential storehouse for self-enrichment. The All-India Hindi will have to be open mindedly - inclusive and extensive and not exclusive and intensive. It has to attend to its own components rather than to indulge in over Sanskritization. It has also to assimilate elements from the other fourteen regional official languages for its proper growth and effective role.

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Table 1

Sl. No.	States/Union Territories returning Hindi in 1971 Census	Total population of the States & Union Territories in 1971 Census	Number of speakers of Hindi in 1971 Census	Number of speakers of Dominant language of the State/UT in 1971 Census	Percentage of Hindi speaker to total population of of the State	Percentage of Dominant language to total population of the State
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Uttar Pradesh	88,341,144	78,214,779	78,214,779 (Hindi)	88.54	88.54
2	Bihar	56,353,369	44,953,764	44,953,764 (Hindi)	79.77	79.77
3	Madhya Pradesh	41,654,119	34,698,020	34,698,020 (Hindi)	83.30	83.30
4	Rajasthan	25,765,806	23,480,495	23,480,495 (Hindi)	91.13	91.13
5	Harayana	10,036,808	8,975,069	8,975,069 (Hindi)	89.42	89.42
6	Delhi	4,065,698	3,088,698	3,088,698 (Hindi)	75.97	75.97
7	Himachal Pradesh	3,460,434	3,005,952	3,005,952 (Hindi)	86.87	86.87
8	West Bengal	44,312,011	2,715,384	37,805,905 (Bengali)	6.13	85.32
9	Punjab	13,551,060	2,711,490	10,771,246 (Punjabi)	20.01	79.49
10	Maharashtra	50,412,235	2,528,420	38,619,257 (Marathi)	5.02	76.61
11	Andhra Pradesh	43,502,708	993,593	37,137,282 (Telugu)	2.28	85.37
12	Assam	14,957,542	798,409	8,905,544 (Assamese)	5.34	59.54
13	Jammu & Kashmir	4,616,632	695,375	2,453,430 (Kashmiri)	15.06	53.14
14	Karnataka (Mysore)	29,299,014	526,692	19,328,950 (Kannada)	1.80	65.97
15	Gujarat	26,697,475	429,980	23,866,127 (Gujarati)	1.61	89.40
16	Orissa	21,944,615	341,474	18,466,796 (Oriya)	1.56	84.15
17	Chandigarh	257,251	143,961	143,961 (Hindi) 104,619 (Punjabi)	55.96	55.96

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	Tamil Nadu	41,199,168	77,445	34,817,421 (Tamil)	0.19	84.51
19	Tripura	1,556,342	23,039	1,070,535 (Bengali)	1.48	68.79
20	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	115,133	18,499	28,120 (Bengali)	16.07	24.42
			18,499	(Hindi)		16.07
				17,971 (Nicobarese)		15.61
21	Nagaland	516,499	17,431	73,630 (Ao)	3.37	14.26
				68,272 (Angami)		13.22
				72,338 (Konyak)		14.01
22	Meghalaya	1,011,699	17,220	457,064 (Khasi)	1.70	47.17
				324,197 (Garo)		32.04
23	Arunachal Pradesh	462,511	15,354	144,057 (Nissi Dafla)	3.28	24.66
				98,474 (Adi)		
24	Goa, Daman & Diu	857,771	11,755	556,396 (Konkani)	1.37	64.86
25	Manipur	1,072,753	11,631	678,402 (Manipuri)	1.08	63.23
26	Kerala	21,347,375	11,586	20,496,771 (Malayalam)	0.05	96.02
27	Sikkim	209,843	6,161	134,235 (Gorkhali/ Nepali)	2.94	63.97
28	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	74,170	1,173	61,638 (Bhili)	1.58	83.1
				8,952 (Gujarati)		12.07
29	Pondicherry	471,707	1,094	419,839 (Tamil)	0.23	89.90
30	Laccadive, Minicoy & Amindivi Islands	31,810	62	26,689 (Malayalam)	0.19	83.90

Literacy Trend Vis-A-Vis Literary Development Among Some Scheduled Tribes

T.P. Mukherjee

The Indian constitution is based on a democratic ideology. Illiteracy in democracy is fraught with dangers of various kinds. It inevitably acts as a serious impediment to social orientation, political consciousness and economic growth. In the absence of these, illiteracy patently tends to make people unfortunate victims of superstition and economic repression within a web of unethical practices, leaving them unaware of the light of freedom.

At a glance one can see, it would reveal, that of the fifty languages surveyed in the project, 29 languages can be classified for our purposes, as these names correspond to particular ethnic communities referred to as *scheduled tribes* under the provision of the constitution. The rest are non tribal languages i.e. the fourteen major languages or the *scheduled languages* and seven other *non-scheduled languages*; Ladaki, Dogri, Gorkhali/Nepali, Manipuri/Meithei, Bishunpuriya, Konkani and Tulu. The scope of the present paper is confined to 29 scheduled tribes, whose 1971 census data as well as survey data, are used in this paper with reference to literacy growth.

Out of 105 languages tabulated in the 1971 census, speakers of 15 scheduled languages (including Sanskrit) make up more than 95 percent of the total population of India. The tribal population constitutes a significant part of the remaining 90 languages. Of these, 69 languages can be identified as tribal languages spoken by 3.08 percent of the total population of India. However there are about 300 scheduled tribe communities with about 38 million population constituting 6.93 percent of the population. Leaving aside the negligible proportion of non-tribals who have opted for tribal languages as their mother tongues through living long periods in a tribal area, it can be concluded that about half the tribal population have distinct languages of their own and the other half have switched over to the language of their neighbours. The subject under analysis indicates that speakers of 29 tribes are taken into consideration and they constitute 2.76 percent of the total population, which comes roughly to 40 percent of the total tribal population.

Most of the tribal tribal languages belong to Austric and Tibeto-Chinese families, while a few belong to the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan families (Table 2). Austric languages spoken in India belong to the Austro-Asiatic Branch, speakers of which amount to around 7 million, forming 1.27 percent of the total population. As for this branch, the present survey has covered six languages viz. Kasi, Ho, Kharia, Mundari, Nicobarese and Santali with a total of 5,997,961 speakers.

The Tibeto-Chinese family is smallest in population strength, but largest in the number of languages, and referred to by Grierson as "a hord of dialects" (as many as 51) of which twenty languages have been considered in this survey (see details in Table 1). In Nagaland speakers of 8 mother tongues viz., Angami, Ao, Kheza, Konyak, Lotha, Phom, Sangtam and Sema are shown. But the tribal population figures of these are not separately available. Hence population figures are shown jointly as "Naga Tribes".

It will be seen from Table 1 that the total ethnic population of these twenty-nine scheduled tribes is about 20,000,000 whereas tribal mother tongue speakers are about 15,000,000. The difference in these two figures obviously calls for an explanation. It is not that some five millions have special problems of education and communication because of the fact that the languages spoken by them are different. If the population figure of each scheduled tribe is looked into, the difference is seen specially in the case of Bhili/Bhilodi and Gondi. In the table of scheduled tribes these tribes are returned under various names of their sub-tribes.

Marked differences between the figures of population strength and speakers of a language may be attributable to several reasons including language maintenance and shift.

A certain proportion of the tribal population speaks subsidiary languages in addition to their mother tongue. Even if the subsidiary language be the lingua-franca of their respective regions, the problem of education, because of their language difficulty, persists. The special problems of education for the linguistic minorities, including the tribals, have received statutory recognition in India. Article 350(a) of the constitution has enjoined that adequate facilities be provided for imparting instructions in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to the children belonging to linguistic minority groups. As education comes under a concurrent list of our constitution, both central government and states are responsible for its implementation in primary education for children of minority groups. The governmental initiatives have been to introduce tribal languages as "medium of instruction" through appointment of at least one teacher for a sizeable number of students, publication of text books, the option of answering questions in the mother tongue up to a certain level, which may vary from region to region. It may be presumed that the main means of using tribal languages in education can be done through publication of text books for the benefit of the students.

As a matter of continued research the survey team collected some information in this respect from different states. The total number of text books published in each of the 29 tribal mother tongue is presented in Table 3.

The table shows languages viz., Lushai/Mizo, Khasi, Garo and Bodo/Boro recording the highest number of text books. The number varies a little over 50 to 100 which includes text books from primary up to degree level. Text books up to secondary level are available in eight languages viz., Hmar, Santali, Lepcha, Angami, Ao, Sema, Lotha and Bhotia and the number of such books varies between eight and forty. Of these, more than twenty text books are published in Santali (31), Hmar (40) and Angami (27). Up to primary and middle school level text books are published in three languages, (16) in Bhili/Bhilodi, (9) in Konyak and (8) in Kheza. In thirteen languages text books have been published up to primary level only and the number varies between 3 and 37. Only one language viz., Mundari has no text book at all. The above facts may be examined in the light of different factors viz., 1) numerical strength of the community, 2) nature of its distribution, 3) areas of Missionary activities, 4) existence of separate script, 5) written literature, and 6) extent of bilingualism, etc. Figures of numerical strength of each tribe and tribal concentration in different regions are already given in Table 1.

The tribes Lushai/Mizo, Khasi, Garo and Bodo/Boro are fairly large and there are well-defined regions where the entire population resides. Excepting Bodo/Boro the rest have uniform scripts (Table 4). Evidently recognition has already been given beyond high school stage to these languages. It is evident therefore that a good number of text books are therefore available. Hence it may be concluded that the existence of more than one script can create problems in adopting uniformity in the process of language development in the region.

The situation is more complex in the case of larger tribes such as: Santal, Bhil, Gond, etc. Though they are dominant communities in several areas they also frequently live interspersed with the general population. Economically and also otherwise, they are very much dependent on their non-tribal counterparts. Accordingly, these languages are used as "bridge-languages" for switching over to the regional language with regard to their educational achievements. Moreover, in the case of Santali there has been hardly any uniform development, as the language is written in many scripts such as: Roman, Bengali, Devanagari, Oriya and Olchiki. The result is that it has become very difficult to adopt any of these on a uniform basis. Gondi records the least number of text books. Hmar has recorded a fairly good number of publications because of the adoption of one script and because they live in well defined regions of Assam and Manipur. The problems discussed for the Santals hold good in varying degree for many other tribes. Most of them have more than one script.

Lastly, a good number of these 29 languages are spoken in the hill districts of Assam, Manipur and Nagaland. In these regions primary education has been imparted for a longtime in the Roman script by Christian missionaries in each region's mother tongue. As a result, text books up to the primary level are available to some extent in all these languages.

Governmental activities for the promotion of educational betterment among the backward communities have been more significant in the case of the smaller states of the North-Eastern region, than the bigger ones such as Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, etc.

Information about script and published written literature is given in Table 4. It will be seen that languages having one script are comparatively more developed than those having more than one script. Khasi with 1,086 publications, Lushai/Mizo with 913 publications and Garo with over 300 publications are in the top position with only one script, i.e. Roman, Santali, Bodo/Boro, Mundari and Ho, although numerically more predominent tribes, have a smaller number of publications i.e. 177, 123, 30, 23 respectively.

From the foregoing discussions the following facts emerge:

(i) Lushai/Mizo, Khasi and Garo languages are in the vanguard of literary development.

(ii) Bodo/Boro, Hmar, Santali, Thodo, Mikir are on the middle level of literary development.

(iii) Sangtam, Kharia, Gondi, Dimasa, Nicobarese, Khesa, Konyak, etc. are on the lower level in this respect.

Literacy rates among the speakers of the tribal languages are also given in Table 4. In the case of the eight tribes of Nagaland, as population figures are shown jointly under "Naga-Tribes" in Table 1, their literacy rates could not be computed, therefore, could not be computed separately for each tribe. The combined literacy rate is however 23.7%.

The rate of literacy according to the 1971 census figures varies between 6% and 60% among the tribes. As in the case of publications of literature and text books, the literacy rate (60%+) is also the highest among the Lushai/Mizo. Conversely tribes such as: Gonds, Bhils and Santals have lower literacy rates, recorded as 9.63%, 8.28% and 7.86% respectively. Hmar records its literacy rate as 45.87%.

The groupings on the basis of literacy rates are given below:

	LITERACY RATES	NAME OF TRIBES
i)	5 - 10 percent	1. Gond 2. Bhils 3. Santals
ii)	10 - 15 percent	1. Ho 2. Mikir 3. Kurukh/Oraon 4. Kharia 5. Mundari

iii) 15 - 20 percent
    1. Tripuri
    2. Dimasa
    3. Nicobarese

iv) 20 - 25 percent
    1. Garo
    2. Bodo/Boro
    3. Thodou
    4. Kabui
    5. Naga group of tribes

v) Above 25 percent
    1. Lushai/Mizo
    2. Khasi
    3. Hmar
    4. Lepcha
    5. Bhotia
    6. Tang-Khul

A diachronic change in literacy rate among tribes can also be seen in Table 4. The variation in literacy rates computed from census figures shows a 1 to 11 percent increase for all tribes except Hmar and Mikir. Lushai/Mizo indicates the maximum increase from 48.88% in 1961 to 60.03% in 1971. Next follows Dimasa and the "Tribes of Nagaland", recording a 10 percent and 9 percent increase respectively in their literacy rates. Tangkhul, Lepcha, Garo, Nicobarese, Tripuri, Kuruk/Oraon show a substantial increase in literacy rates, the variation ranging between 5 to 7 percent. Bhotia, Bodo/Boro and Santali record the least variation in their literacy rates in the same decade.

The tribal variation in educational development interms of literacy rates can be correlated with the number of text books and literature books published. In respect to their literacy rates. The range of variation in these variables is grouped in four quartiles and these are successively assigned score values of 1, 2, 3, and 4. There is wide variation among the index scores of the tribes. The highest score on the index is recorded by Lushai/Mizo (12), next follows Khasi, Garo, Bodo/Boro, Hmar and Thado each scoring index value 11 or 10. These tribes are at a higher level of development. Gondi records the lowest value scoring only 3 and Dimasa, Ho, Kharia, Nicobarese, Tripuri are also low. All these tribes are at a lower level of educational development. The remaining are at an intermediate level.

As the variation in literacy rate for the decade for all - India with respect to the general population is 5.5%, it appears that most of the tribes i.e. seventeen out of twenty-nine are below this level of literacy growth. The literacy rate of only a few is above the all-Indian literacy rate of 29.5% for the general population.

The foregoing discussions will inevitably lead us to conclude that uneven educational progress of the tribes, whether leading to an increase or a decrease of "inequalities" between the tribal and non-tribal populations, will need further investigation and study. However, educational progress by and large depends on the improvement in literacy and the consequent increase in the publication of literature.

With the continued pragmatic efforts of the Government, the literacy standard of the Tribals could be soon raised to a satisfactory level. To accomplish this, the associated agencies implementing literacy have to work vigorously on an integrated programme based on an inter-state/inter-department coordinated scheme.

Table 1

MOTHER TONGUE/LANGUAGE NAMES WITH SPEAKERS STRENGTH AND SCHEDULED TRIBE POPULATION BY STATE

Mother Tongue/ Language Name	No. of Speakers	Tribe Name	Population	States where speakers are mainly found (states having at least more than 1% of Total speakers)
Bhili/Bhilodi	3,399,285	Bhils	5,198,909	M.P. Rajasthan Gujrat Maharashtra
Bhotia	33,360	Bhotia	68,059	U.P. West-Bengal Sikkim
Bodo/Boro	556,576	Boro	610,459	Assam West-Bengal
Dimasa	40,149	Dimasa	39,344	Assam Nagaland
Garo	411,731	Garo	342,454	Tripura Assam
Gondi	1,688,284	Gonds	4,809,164	Maharashtra M.P, A.P. Orissa
Hamar	38,207	Hmar	36,740	Manipur Assam
Ho	751,389	Ho	538,124	Bihar Orissa
Khasi	479,028	Khasi	463,869	Assam Meghalaya
Kharia	191,421	Kharia	274,674	Bihar Orissa M.P., W.B. Assam
Kabui	50,814	Kabui	40,257	Manipur Nagaland
Kurukh/Oraon	1,235,665	Kurukh/Oraon	1,702,662	Bihar Orissa, M.P. W.B., Assam
Lepcha	33,360	Lepcha	14,582	West-Bengal Sikkim
Lushai/Mizo	271,554	Lushai/Mizo	245,954	Assam Manipur Tripura Meghalaya

Mother Tongue / Language Name	No. of Speakers	Tribe Name	Population	States where speakers are mainly found (states having at least more than 1% of Total speakers)
Mikir	199,121	Mikir	182,791	Assam Meghalaya
Mundari	771,253	Munda/Mundari	1,163,338	Bihar Orissa, W.B.
Nicobarese	17,971	Nicobarese	17,874	Andaman & Nicobar Islands
Santali	3,786,899	Santal	3,633,459	Bihar, W.B. Orissa
Thado	51,054	Thadou	59,955	Manipru Assam
Tripuri (Kok-Barak)	372,579	Tripuri	250,545	Tripura
Tangkhul	58,167	Tangkhul	57,851	Manipur
Separate Naga Tribal Languages	367,812	Separate Naga Tribes	445,266	Nagaland

i)	Angami	66,522
ii)	Ao	75,381
iii)	Kheza	11,363
iv)	Konyak	72,338
v)	Lotha	36,949
vi)	Phom	18,017
vii)	Sangtam	20,015
viii)	Sema	65,227

Source: 1971 Census data - Series 1, Paper 1 of 1975, Scheduled Castes + Scheduled Tribes, Census of India 1971.

Table 2

LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

1. SINO - TIBETAN GROUP
   TIBETO - BURMAN SUB-FAMILY

    1. Angami (Naga group)
    2. AO (Naga group)
    3. Bhotia (Bhotia group)
    4. Bodo-Boro (Bodo group)
    5. Dimasa (Bodo groups)
    6. Garo (Bodo group)
    7. Hmar (Kuki-chin group)
    8. Kheza (Naga group)
    9. Konyak (Naga group)
    10. Kabui (Naga Bodo Sub-group)
    11. Lepcha (Himalayan group)
    12. Lushai/Mizo (Kuki-chin group)
    13. Lotha (Naga group)
    14. Mikir (Naga-Kuki sub-group)
    15. Phom (Naga group)
    16. Sangtam (Naga group)
    17. Sema (Naga group)
    18. Thado (Kuki-chin group)
    19. Tripuri (Bodo group)
    20. Tangkhul (Naga-Kuki group)

2. AUSTRIC FAMILY
   AUSTRO - ASIATIC SUB-FAMILY

    1. Khasis (Palaung Khmer Sub-group)
    2. Ho (Northern Munda Branch)
    3. Kharia (Munda Branch)
    4. Mundari (Munda Branch)
    5. Nicobarese
    6. Santali (Munda Branch)

3. DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

    1. Kurukh/Oraon (North Dravidian Group)
    2. Gondi (Central Group)

4. INDO EUROPEAN FAMILY
   INDO-ARYAN SUB-FAMILY

    1. Bhili/Bhilodi (Central Group)

Source: Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census, Census of India, 1971.

Table 3

NUMBER OF TRIBAL LANGUAGE TEXT BOOK PUBLICATIONS BY SCHOLASTIC LEVEL

NAME OF MOTHER TONGUE AND NO. OF TEXT BOOKS PUBLISHED			
Primary Level Only*	To Primary & Middle School Level	To Secondary Level	To Degree Level
1. Khasi-116	1. Hmar-40	1. Bhil/ Bhilodi-16	1. Thado-37
2. Garo-112	2. Santali-31	2. Konyak-9	2. Mikir-25
3. Lushai/ Mizo-106	3. Angami-27	3. Kheza-8	3. Tripuri-11
4. Bodo/ Boro-72	4. Lepcha-19	4. Ho-9	
	5. Sema-12	5. Kurukh/ Oraon-9	
	6. Ao-11	6. Tangkhul-9	
	7. Lotha-8	7. Sangtam-6	
	8. Bhotia-8	8. Dimasa-6	
		9. Phom-5	
		10. Gondi-5	
		11. Kharia-4	
		12. Kabui-3	
		13. Nicobarese-3	

Source: Survey data, *Written Languages of India*.

*Mundari has 0 publications.

Table 4

VARIABLES OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT INCLUDING A GENERAL DEVELOPMENT INDEX SCORE

Name of Language 1	Script used (D = Devanagri, R = Roman) 2	Total no. Text Books published upto 1981 3	Score value (Text Book Index) 4	Total items Literature Published to 1981 5	Score value (Literature Index) 6	1971 % Literates 7	1961 % Literates 8	Score value (Literacy Index) 9	Total scores Value Development Index 10
Bhili/ Bhilodi	Devanagari Gujarati	16	2	36	2	8.28	5.13	1	5
Bhotia	Tibetan	8	1	24	2	26.41	25.06	3	6
Bodo/ Boro	Devnagri Assamese Roman	72	4	123	3	20.50	19.83	3	10
Dimasa	Bengali	6	1	15	1	18.84	8.06	2	4
Garo	Devnagari Roman Oriya	112	4	301	4	23.44	17.95	3	11
Gondi	Devnagari Oriya	5	1	14	1	9.63	6.33	1	3
Hmar	Roman	40	3	198	3	45.87	46.45	4	10
Ao	Roman Bharang Kshiti (Bihar)	9	1	23	2	12.51	9.35	1	4
Khasi	Roman	116	4	1,086	4	28.55	24.57	3	11
Kharia	Devnagari Roman	4	1	23	2	14.74	10.62	1	4
Kabui	Roman	3	1	27	2	24.62	21.47	3	5
Kurukh/ Oraon	Roman Devnagari	9	1	35	2	15.49	10.48	2	5
Lepcha	Roman Lepcha	19	2	19	1	25.89	19.78	3	6
Lushai/ Mizo	Roman	106	4	913	4	60.03	48.88	4	12
Mikir	Roman Assamese	25	2	53	3	12.98	12.13	1	6

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Mundari	Devnagari Roman-Oriya	...	-	30	2	14.32	11.43	1	3
Nicobarese	Devanagari Roman	3	1	9	1	18.07	11.28	2	4
Devnagari	Roman, Bengali, Oriya, Olchiki, Santali	31	3	177	4	7.86	5.90	1	8
Thado	Roman	37(-)	3	129	4	24.50	22.69	3	10
Tripuri	Roman Bengali	11	1	31	2	17.78	12.69	1	4
Tangkhul	Roman	9	1	78	3	35.61	30.76	4	8
Tribes of Nagaland	Roman	10	-	21	-	*23.71	14.46	3	-
i) Angami		27	3	79	3			*3	9
ii) Ao		11	1	31	2			*3	6
iii) Kheza		8	1	10	1			*3	5
iv) Konyak		9	1	15	1			*3	5
v) Lotha		8	1	18	1			*3	5
vi) Phom		5	1	6	1			*3	5
vii) Sangtam		6	1	8	1			*3	5
viii) Sema		12	1	24	2			*3	6

Source: (i) Census data of 1971 and 1961 (ii) Survey data.

N.B. Score value assigned:	Below 15 = 1	Below 20 = 1	Below 15 = 1
	15 - 25 = 2	20 - 50 = 2	15 - 20 = 2
	25 - 40 = 3	50 - 200 = 3	20 - 25 = 3
	40+ = 4	200+ = 4	25+ = 4

(ii)Mother tongue and name of the tribe are assumed to be synonymous and the literacy rate has been applied to the speakers to have an idea of the trend.

Selected Tribes and their Mother Tongues

O.P. Sharma

Mass education and literacy are a hallmark of modern society. Recognizing this, developing countries generally view education as a necessary and basic ingredient of economic and social development planning. In India, the goal of free and compulsory education to the age of 14 is enshrined as a Directive Principle of the Constitution. A prominent goal of India's Plan Documents is the achievement of universal availability and equality of opportunity in education as a basic means of promoting the general welfare.

Although the Government of India has long espoused the goal of universal literacy and education, attainment of this goal is still a long way from being accomplished. To be sure, a good deal of progress has been made. There is at present a network of more than 700,000 schools and colleges, with more than 3.5 million teachers and an annual budget of more than Rs. 32.5 million. But the crude literacy rate was still only 38 per cent at the time of the 1981 Census. Moreover, progress has been uneven from one part of the country to the other (and even from one ethnic group to the next) with some states and union territories showing much improvement but others much less.

The present study focuses on literacy, not on the educational system that produces it. Data sources used here are from the censuses of 1961, 1971 and 1981, so that literacy trends can be examined for the period 1961-81. Because the 1981 Census could not be held in Assam due to disturbed conditions prevailing there, for reasons of lack of comparabilily, this state has been completely excluded from this study.

Following UNESCO recommendations, the censuses of 1961, 1971 and 1981 defined literacy "as the ability to read and write with understanding in any language". To be classified as literate, a person need not have received any formal education or passed any minimum standard to qualify as literate. A person who could merely read but not write was not defined as literate. Children below five years of age were also treated as illiterate, even though they might have learned to read more than one alphabet by that age.

The measure of literacy used throughout this study is the literacy rate, which is simply the percent of literates in the population. The study begins with an examination of literacy trends for India, followed by an examination of trends among Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and the non-SC/ST populations. Thereafter, follows a brief analysis of some selected Scheduled Tribes.

LITERACY RATES FOR INDIA

According to the 1981 Census, the population of India, excluding Assam (with a projected population of about 20 million in 1981), was 665 million. The 1981 literacy rate was 36.2 per cent.

Literacy trends for earlier census years are shown in Statement 1. Starting at the low level of 5.3 per cent in 1901, the literacy rate more than tripled to 16.7 per cent by 1951, shortly after Independence. By 1981 it had slightly more than doubled again, to 36.2 per cent. Despite the rise in the literacy rate, however, the absolute number of illiterates did not decrease. Between 1901 and 1981 it almost doubled, from 222 million to 424 million. This occurred because the population base almost tripled during the same period. The rise in the literacy rate meant that illiterates grew at a slower rate than did the base population, but the rise in the literacy rate was not fast enough to prevent illiterates from increasing in absolute numbers.

Statement 1:

POPULATION, LITERATES AND ILLITERATES

YEAR	POPULATION	LITERATES	ILLITERATES	LITERACY RATE (%)
1	2	3	4	5
1901	233.1	12.6	222.5	5.3
1911	248.2	14.7	233.5	5.9
1921	246.7	17.7	229.8	7.2
1931	273.4	26.0	247.4	9.5
1941	312.0	50.2	261.8	16.1
1951	353.1	58.9	294.2	16.7
1961*	428.1	102.6	323.5	24.0
1971	533.3	157.3	376.2	29.3
1981**	665.3	241.0	424.3	36.2

NOTE: Number of literates and illiterates for the years betweeen 1901 and 1941 were estimated by applying the literacy rate for undivided India to the population of that part of undivided India that remained in India after partition.

* Excludes population.

** Excludes Assam.

Statement 2 provides further details on decade growth rates of literates and illiterates. The growth rates of literates were generally higher after Independence than before, except for the decade 1931-41, which saw an unusually high growth rate. The comparatively low growth rate during the decade 1941-51 is no doubt related in large part to World War II and the social and political unrest in the subcontinent leading to partition and Independence. The comparatively high growth rates after Independence were sustained, despite a substantial acceleration of the growth rate of the base population, also shown in Statement 2. Because of accelerated growth of the base population decadal growth rates for illiterates were also generally higher after Independence than before.

The growth rate of illiterates was negative during only one decade, 1911-21, and then only slightly so. The fall was probably due mainly to the worldwide influenza epidemic, which undoubtedly affected more strongly illiterates than literates. Total population size actually declined slightly during this period. The growth rates for illiterates are somewhat misleading because the base population includes the sub-population of pre-school children not expected to be literate, and this has grown rapidly especially since Independence. When this group is excluded, the growth rates of illiterates are slightly lower except for 1971-81, when fertility declined and the growth rate of the 0-4 age group was comparatively low.

Statement 2:

PER CENT DECADE GROWTH RATES OF LITERATES AND ILLITERATES, 1901-1981, INDIA*

DECADE 1	POPULATION 2	LITERATES 3	ILLITERATES 4
1901-11	5.6	16.8	5.0
1911-21	-0.6	20.2	-1.9
1921-31	10.8	47.1	8.0
1931-41	14.1	93.4	5.8
1941-51	13.2	17.2	12.6
1951-61	21.3	74.4	10.7
1961-71	24.5	53.2	15.5
1971-81	24.7	53.2	12.8

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* Excludes Assam.

Significant sex differentials in literacy rates exist, but these are narrowing with the passage of time, as indicated by a rising trend in the ratio of the female literacy rate compared to the male literacy rate. The trends in literacy rates by sex are shown in Statement 3 and in Graph 1 (Appendix). Statement 3 also shows the trend in the ratio of the female literacy rate to the male literacy rate. By the 1981 Census, somewhat less than half of all males and about one-fourth of all females were literate, and the ratio of the female literacy rate to the male literacy rate was 53 per cent.

Statement 3:

LITERACY RATES BY SEX, 1901-1981, INDIA

YEAR 1	MALES 2	FEMALES 3	FEMALE RATE/ MALES RATE/ (%) 4
1901	9.8	0.6	6.1
1911	10.6	1.1	9.9
1921	12.2	1.8	14.8
1931	15.6	2.9	18.8
1941	24.9	7.3	29.3
1951	25.0	7.9	31.8
1961	34.4	12.9	37.6
1971	39.5	18.7	47.4
1981	46.9	24.8	52.9

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* Excludes Assam.

Note: Rates for 1901 to 1941 are for undivided India.

There was a large urban-rural differential in literacy rates, as shown in Statement 4. Between 1961 and 1981 literacy rates increased substantially in both urban and rural areas, but by 1981 the urban literacy rate, at 57 per cent, was still almost double the rural literacy rate, at 30 per cent. The ratio of female to male literacy rates was 44 per cent in rural and 73 per cent in urban areas, indicating that the sex differential in literacy tends to diminish with urbanisation.

Statement 4:

LITERACY RATES BY SEX AND RESIDENCE, 1961-1981, INDIA

RESIDENCE 1	YEAR 2	PERSONS 3	MALES 4	FEMALES 5
Rural	1961	18.8	28.9	8.4
	1971	23.7	33.8	13.1
	1981	29.7	40.8	18.0
Urban	1961	46.9	57.4	34.4
	1971	52.4	61.2	42.0
	1981	57.4	65.8	47.8

---

* Excludes Assam.

Although literacy rates were higher in urban than in rural areas, it is nevertheless still true that a majority of literates reside in rural areas, as shown in Graph 2 (Appendix). This was true for both sexes, but more so for males than for females, who were particularly disadvantaged regarding literacy in rural areas. The reason why there were more literates in rural areas, despite considerably lower literacy rates there, is that the vast majority of the population is still rural. Consequently a lower literacy rate multiplied by a considerably large population base yields a large number of literates. In 1981 only 23 per cent of India's population was urban.

LITERACY RATES FOR SCHEDULED CASTES, SCHEDULED TRIBES AND NON-SCHEDULED CASTE/TRIBE POPULATIONS

At the time of the 1961 Census, the Scheduled Caste (SC) population accounted for 14.87 per cent and the Scheduled Tribe (ST) population accounted for 6.76 per cent of the country's population (excluding Assam). The proportions at the time of the 1971 Census remained almost stationary. However, by the 1981 Census the proportion increased to 15.75 and 7.76 per cent respectively. Proportions were higher in rural areas and lower in urban areas. This is true for all three censuses. However, with the passage of time, SC and ST populations have started moving to urban areas. At the time of the 1961 Census, of the total SC population in the country (excluding Assam), 89.29 per cent lived in villages. The percentage dropped slightly to 89.03 in 1971 and it further declined to 84.00 per cent at the 1981 Census. A similar trend is observed in the case of ST population. While, in 1961, as many as 97.36 per cent of the total ST population lived in villages, their percentage declined marginally to 96.48 by 1971. During the 1981 Census the percentage of ST population living in villages also declined substantially to 93.8 per cent.

The spread of literacy was not uniform among SC, ST and non-SC/ST population. The ST population appears to be at a most disadvantageous position. This is more so in rural areas. Table 1 (Appendix) gives the literacy rates observed at the time of the 1961, 1971 and 1891 Censuses among SC, ST and non-SC/ST populations, for both sexes and for rural and urban areas separately. During the two decades of 1961-1981, the literacy rate increased by 12.28 percentage points for the total population. Among the non-SC/ST population the rate increased by 13.34 percentage points, while for SC and ST population the increase was of the order of 11.27 and 7.36 percentage points respectively.

The trend is slightly different among males and females. Among males, the literacy rate increased the highest for SC males, by 14.85 percentage points, followed by Non-SC/ST males (12.89 percentage points) and ST males (11.48 percentage points). The increase in literacy rate among SC males is quite encouraging.

Among females, the trend is slightly different. The highest increase of 13.77 percentage points was registered by non-SC/ST females followed by SC females. The lowest increase of 5.15 percentage points was registered by ST females. It is quite disappointing that even after 40 years of Independence only 8.04 per cent of the ST females could read and write with understanding.

Almost the same trend is observed in the case of rural areas. In the case of urban areas, however, the ST males and females appear to be in a slightly happier position as compared to their counterparts among SCs. The analysis of Table 1 (Appendix) highlights a very encouraging trend, that in urban areas the 1981 literacy rate among STs was marginally higher than SC males but non-SC/ST males were far ahead with a literacy rate of 68.46 per cent. In the case of females, the trend was almost the same. The literacy rate among ST females was substantially higher than SC females. Like males, the non-SC/ST females were much ahead of both SC and ST females.

In the analysis that follows the main stress has been laid on ST population. An attempt has been made to correlate literacy with some selected tribal languages. This, however, is a very crude method but in the absence of classification of language data by literacy, the method adopted appears to be most suitable and may lead us very close to reality. There may be cases where persons belonging to a particular tribe get their mother tongue recorded as one which is not synonymous to the name of their tribe. It is possible that a mother tongue, which is synonymous to the name of a tribe, is not restricted to only those who belong to that particular tribe but also includes others who do not belong to the tribe.

No tribe was scheduled at the time of the 1971 Census in Haryana, Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Sikkim, Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry. In the case of Uttar Pradesh and Goa, Daman and Diu though no tribe was scheduled at the time of the 1961 Census, certain tribes were included in the list of the 1971 Census. Thus all these states and Union territories stand excluded from the analysis that follows.

More than 85 per cent of the tribal population in 1971 in the country (excluding Assam) was concentrated in seven states, namely: 1) Madhya Pradesh, 2) Orissa, 3) Bihar, 4) Gujarat, 5) Rajasthan, 6) Maharashtra and 7) West Bengal. This may be to some extent attributed to the population size of these states. When we look at the issue from a different angle, we find that the tribal population accounted for more than 75 per cent of the total population in the following: 1) Lakshadweep, 2) Nagaland, 3) Dadra & Nagar Haveli, 4) Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh. Other states and Union territories where the strength of the ST population was more than 10 per cent of the total population in descending order (percentage) were: 1) Manipur, 2) Tripura, 3)

Orissa, 4) Madhya Pradesh, 5) Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 6) Gujarat and 7) Rajasthan. It will perhaps suffice if we concentrate on the seven major states which accounted for more than 85 per cent of the ST population of the country.

Is it not a sad story that in 1971, even after 25 years of Independence, the literacy rate among the ST population was only 11.30 per cent. The state, namely, Madhya Pradesh. This state which accounted for more than 22 per cent of the ST population in the country (excluding Assam) registered a literacy rate of 7.62 per cent. Another state where the literacy rate among the ST population was even lower than Madhya Pradesh was Rajasthan, which accounted for 8.27 per cent of the tribal population in the country but registered a literacy rate of 6.47 per cent. Among the seven states being analysed, where the literacy rate among ST population was less than 10 per cent in 1971, was Orissa and West Bengal. Among the ST males the literacy rate (in these seven states) varied between 12.03 per cent in Rajasthan and 21.83 per cent in Gujarat. Among the ST females, in these same states, the literacy rate observed at the time of the 1971 Census was as low as 0.49 per cent in Rajasthan. Gujarat, among these seven states registered a literacy rate of 6.15 per cent for the female population. The trend remains almost identical in rural and urban areas but the literacy rate among ST females in urban areas was as low as 4.30 per cent in Rajasthan and as high as 22.81 per cent in Bihar.

The 1961 and 1971 literacy rates, observed among all the states and Union territories, for males and females and by residence are presented in Table 2 (Appendix).

LITERACY RATES FOR SELECTED TRIBES

By narrowing down our study to a few selected tribes to see the behaviour of literacy among them, some seven tribes with varying population sizes, have been selected at random. During the process of census tabulation language data is not cross-classified by any other demographic or social variable including literacy. Assuming that the mother tongue of a population group is synonymous with the name of the tribe to which this population belongs, the literacy rate of the tribe is being applied to the speakers in order to have an idea of the trend. For instance, for the literacy rate observed among the population belonging to the Ho tribe, assumed that all Ho tribe members will get their mother tongue recorded as Ho. The following tribes have been selected for the analysis that follows:

SCHEDULED TRIBE NAME	MOTHER TONGUE NAME
Bhils and Bhilalas	Bhili/Bhilodi
Gond	Gondi
Santal	Santali
Boro/Borokachari	Bodo/Boro
Ho	Ho
Halba or Halbi	Halabi
Kabui	Kabui

A diversified pattern emerges when we work out the percentage of speakers of a particular mother tongue to the total population of the synonymous tribe. Statement 5 brings out the trend.

Statement 5:

MOTHER TONGUE SPEAKERS AS PER CENT OF SYNONYMOUS TRIBE POPULATION, 1961-1971

SCHEDULED TRIBE	MOTHER TONGUE	1961	1971
1	2	3	4
Bhils and Bhilalas	Bhili/Bhilodi	63.96	68.17
Gond	Gondi	37.61	39.80
Santal	Santali	102.95	104.22
Boro/Borokachari	Bodo/Boro	104.57	91.17
Ho	Ho	129.89	139.63
Halba/Halbi	Halabi	200.89	191.75
Kabui	Kabui	102.98	126.22

The states in which most of the population of the above tribes is concentrated also present quite a diversified pattern, as revealed by Table 3 (Appendix).

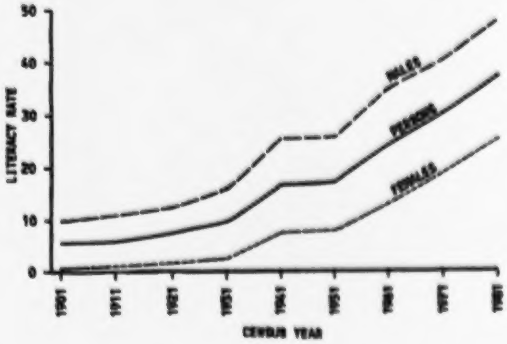
A very interesting picture, which emerges out of the above analysis, is that there does not exist any uniform linguistic-literacy pattern. For instance in 1971 in Madhya Pradesh, those who recorded their mother tongue as Bhili/Bhilodi were 80.74 per cent of the Bhils and Bhilalas Scheduled Tribe population. In the case of Andhra Pradesh the percentage was 95.18 and as low as 46.46 in Karnataka. On the other hand in the case of the Gondi mother tongue vis-a-vis the Gond tribe in Madhya Pradesh, with 3.22 million Gonds, the strength of the Gondi mother tongue was only 1.19 million. This means that those with Gondi mother tongue were only 37.08 per cent of the total Gond population in Madhya Pradesh. The majority of the Gond tribe population obviously did not report Gondi as their mother tongue. On the contrary, in the case of Maharashtra, with more than 310,000 Gonds the number of those with Gondi as their mother tongue was 380,000, which means that those who did not belong to Gond tribe also reported Gondi as their mother tongue.

Another interesting case is that of Ho. In Bihar the Ho tribe population in 1971 was 510,000 whereas those who recorded their mother tongue as Ho were 540,000. In the case of Orissa the respective figures were 30,000 and 21,000 respectively.

This leads to a very vital conclusion that there does not exist any significant correlation between the tribe and its mother tongue. With the passage of time, tribes have started reporting their mother tongue other than the one synonymous to the name of their tribe. In the case of some tribes the speakers of a mother tongue outnumber the population of the synonymous tribe indicating that a non-tribal population or for that matter those belonging to other tribes have reported as their mother tongue a language to which they did not initially belong.

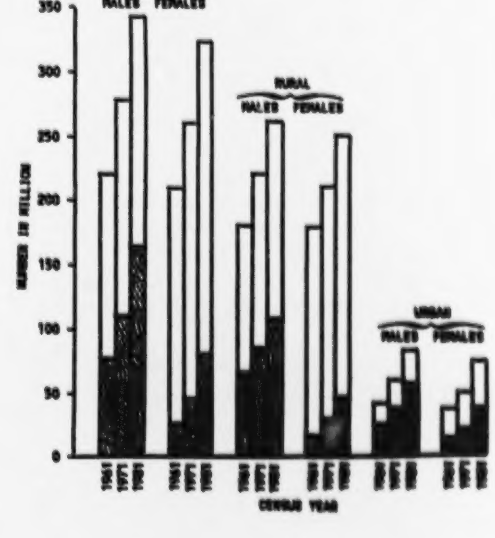
Graph 1

LITERACY RATES BY SEX, 1901-1981, INDIA (Excluding Assam)



Graph 2

NUMBER OF LITERATES AND ILLITERATES BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE AND SEX, 1961-1981, INDIA (Excluding Assam)



Appendix

Table 1:

LITERACY RATES FOR TOTAL, SCHEDULED CASTE, SCHEDULED TRIBE AND NON-SCHEDULED CASTE/SCHEDULED TRIBE POPULATIONS, BY SEX AND RESIDENCE, 1961-1981, INDIA.

Section of Population	Residence	1961			1971			1981		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total population	Total	23.95	34.37	12.90	29.48	39.52	18.70	36.23	46.89	24.82
	Rural	18.83	28.89	8.42	23.69	33.76	13.08	29.65	40.79	17.96
	Urban	46.87	57.43	34.41	52.37	61.24	42.05	57.40	65.83	47.82
Scheduled Caste population	Total	10.11	16.77	3.14	14.54	22.21	6.34	21.38	31.12	10.92
	Rural	8.72	14.86	2.37	12.63	19.88	4.95	18.48	27.91	8.45
	Urban	21.67	32.08	9.89	28.56	38.85	16.89	36.60	47.54	24.34
Scheduled Tribe population	Total	7.99	13.04	2.89	10.89	17.09	4.58	15.35	24.52	8.04
	Rural	7.60	12.55	2.62	10.25	16.35	4.06	14.92	22.94	6.81
	Urban	22.17	30.13	13.31	28.48	36.69	19.35	37.93	47.60	27.32
Non-SC/ST population	Total	27.96	39.46	15.66	33.93	44.68	22.31	41.30	52.35	29.43
	Rural	22.20	33.61	10.35	27.55	38.64	15.85	34.22	46.14	21.68
	Urban	49.58	60.11	37.08	55.01	63.71	44.85	60.39	68.46	51.19

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* Exclude Assam.

Table 2:

LITERACY RATES FOR SCHEDULED TRIBE POPULATION BY SEX AND RESIDENCE IN STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES, 1961-1971.

India/State Union Territory	Residence	1961			1971		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
INDIA*	Total	7.99	13.04	2.89	10.89	17.09	4.38
	Rural	7.60	12.55	2.62	10.25	16.35	4.06
	Urban	22.17	30.13	13.31	28.48	36.69	19.35
States							
1. Andhra Pradesh	Total	4.41	7.26	1.48	5.34	8.47	2.13
	Rural	4.13	6.86	1.34	4.78	7.73	1.76
	Urban	10.54	16.19	4.57	15.74	21.84	9.16
2. Bihar	Total	9.16	15.22	3.18	11.64	18.45	4.85
	Rural	8.63	14.57	2.81	10.73	17.41	4.13
	Urban	28.76	38.06	18.24	32.34	40.52	22.83
3. Gujarat	Total	11.69	19.06	4.09	14.12	21.83	6.15
	Rural	11.32	18.53	3.90	13.46	21.04	5.68
	Urban	18.80	28.66	7.80	24.24	33.57	13.78
4. Himachal Pradesh	Total	16.46	29.49	3.79	15.89	26.25	5.53
	Rural	16.46	29.49	3.79	15.76	26.09	5.45
	Urban	.....	.....	.....	49.01	60.06	31.80
5. Karnataka	Total	8.15	13.24	2.81	14.85	21.71	7.67
	Rural	7.49	12.26	2.48	12.99	19.44	6.32
	Urban	20.23	31.10	8.87	30.03	39.62	19.26
6. Kerala	Total	17.26	22.63	11.92	25.72	32.01	19.40
	Rural	16.31	21.44	11.18	24.71	30.91	18.47
	Urban	38.35	50.23	27.58	49.71	58.19	41.28
7. Madhya Pradesh	Total	5.10	9.25	0.97	7.62	13.05	2.18
	Rural	4.98	9.06	0.93	7.39	12.72	2.05
	Urban	15.46	24.81	4.77	21.12	31.02	10.11
8. Maharashtra	Total	7.21	12.55	1.75	11.74	19.06	4.21
	Rural	6.87	12.06	1.57	11.11	18.26	3.79
	Urban	15.92	24.56	6.45	25.61	36.09	13.91
9. Manipur	Total	27.25	37.03	17.67	28.71	38.64	18.87
	Rural	26.83	36.43	17.49	27.32	37.18	17.59
	Urban	51.98	67.37	30.63	58.30	68.38	47.47
10. Meghalaya	Total	21.85	24.94	18.76	26.45	30.11	22.79
	Rural	19.44	22.61	16.27	23.40	27.12	19.65
	Urban	51.04	53.62	48.53	60.40	64.93	56.21
11. Nagaland	Total	14.76	18.99	10.57	24.01	30.17	17.68
	Rural	13.54	17.45	9.68	22.28	28.29	16.12
	Urban	56.13	67.70	43.00	63.20	70.83	54.63

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*Excludes Assam.

India/State Union Territory	Residence	1961			1971		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
12. Orissa	Total	7.36	13.04	1.77	9.46	16.38	2.58
	Rural	7.22	12.87	1.67	9.20	16.07	2.38
	Urban	14.00	20.79	6.83	18.17	26.58	9.39
13. Rajasthan	Total	3.97	7.39	0.28	6.47	12.03	0.49
	Rural	3.76	7.04	0.22	6.17	11.56	0.41
	Urban	14.13	22.99	3.09	19.67	31.60	4.30
14. Tamil Nadu	Total	5.91	8.93	2.73	9.02	13.34	4.48
	Rural	4.70	7.70	1.55	8.50	12.76	4.02
	Urban	25.96	29.21	22.47	17.94	23.38	12.28
15. Tripura	Total	10.01	17.37	2.31	15.03	23.60	6.04
	Rural	9.48	16.78	1.84	14.34	22.86	5.42
	Urban	61.76	70.84	51.00	71.12	80.91	59.70
16. Utter Pradesh	Total	.....	.....	.....	14.59	22.51	5.58
	Rural	.....	.....	.....	13.33	21.35	4.33
	Urban	.....	.....	.....	29.09	35.13	21.24
17. West Bengal	Total	6.55	11.20	1.76	8.92	14.49	3.09
	Rural	6.27	10.83	1.60	8.60	14.20	2.77
	Urban	18.27	24.76	9.57	22.53	26.08	18.15
Union Territories							
1. Andaman and Nicobar Islands	Total	11.10	15.56	6.31	17.85	24.14	11.17
	Rural	11.10	15.56	6.31	17.85	24.14	11.17
	Urban	.....	.....	.....	33.33	50.00	.....
2. Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Total	4.40	8.28	0.41	8.90	15.30	2.59
	Rural	4.40	8.28	0.41	8.90	15.30	2.59
	Urban	Entirely rural			Entirely rural		
3. Goa, Daman and Diu	Total	.....	.....	.....	12.73	20.33	5.08
	Rural	.....	.....	.....	11.52	18.86	4.32
	Urban	.....	.....	.....	16.56	24.82	7.62
4. Lakshadweep	Total	22.27	34.40	10.61	41.37	54.06	28.94
	Rural	22.27	34.40	10.61	41.37	54.06	28.94
	Urban	Entirely rural			Entirely rural		
5. Mizoram	Total	43.34	52.52	34.39	53.49	60.24	46.88
	Rural	42.19	51.55	33.09	51.16	58.25	44.24
	Urban	65.79	71.08	60.45	72.00	75.85	68.16

Table 3:

SPEAKERS OF SELECTED MOTHER TONGUES AS PER CENT OF THE POPULATION OF THE SYNONYMOUS TRIBES IN SELECTED STATES, 1961-1971

State		1961			1971		
		Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
			MOTHER TONGUE: SCHEDULED TRIBE:	BHILI/BHILODI BHILS AND BHILALAS			
Madhya Pradesh	MT/ST	72.50	71.95	1298.90	80.74	81.03	60.86
	LR	1.87	1.86	12.64	3.71	3.49	18.78
Rajasthan	MT/ST	91.75	89.99	189.71	60.01	60.67	24.66
	LR	2.67	2.55	9.72	4.67	4.55	11.23
Gujarat	MT/ST	24.57	25.07	10.52	52.04	53.81	15.06
	LR	9.81	9.57	16.51	11.74	11.34	20.03
Maharashtra	MT/ST	76.76	77.77	49.89	65.16	65.37	59.96
	LR	6.49	6.19	14.35	9.51	9.16	18.12
Andhra Pradesh	MT/ST	1426.51	551.72	3456.00	95.18	121.47	84.38
	LR	28.92	1.72	92.00	7.86	1.84	10.33
Karnataka	MT/ST	0.46	0.00	3.85	46.46	48.51	34.00
	LR	8.76	8.90	7.69	11.90	10.23	22.00
Tripura	MT/ST	186.96	186.96	*	126.04	126.04	*
	LR	1.45	1.45	*	14.20	14.20	*
			MOTHER TONGUE: SCHEDULED TRIBE:	GONDI GOND			
Madhya Pradesh	MT/ST	33.80	33.86	27.23	37.08	37.35	17.02
	LR	6.09	5.97	19.96	9.02	8.78	26.45
Maharashtra	MT/ST	127.33	124.55	285.11	122.37	119.69	271.69
	LR	6.67	6.40	22.10	11.70	11.33	32.49
Orissa	MT/ST	4.51	4.56	0.80	3.25	3.29	0.05
	LR	10.77	10.74	12.91	13.48	13.39	21.83
Andhra Pradesh	MT/ST	52.87	52.75	77.12	58.36	59.22	6.25
	LR	2.65	2.54	25.14	3.31	3.18	11.21
Bihar	MT/ST	1.35	1.35	1.33	0.29	0.19	1.06
	LR	11.54	11.08	15.79	13.30	11.82	23.97
Karnataka	MT/ST	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.99	0.00	11.30
	LR	5.92	4.18	25.00	9.62	5.41	12.22
Gujarat	MT/ST	251.72	252.70	246.15	12.94	6.15	233.33
	LR	5.75	1.35	30.77	21.64	21.54	25.00
West Bengal	MT/ST	10.20	10.20	*	0.00	0.00	*
	LR	0.27	0.27	*	15.22	15.22	*

State		1961			1971		
		Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
			MOTHER TONGUE: SCHEDULED TRIBE:	SANTALI SANTAL			
Bihar	MT/ST	107.65	107.53	120.51	105.90	105.40	128.71
	LR	6.08	6.01	13.69	7.51	7.28	11.74
West Bengal	MT/ST	95.07	94.98	100.93	102.28	102.25	104.32
	LR	5.56	5.46	12.01	7.93	7.80	15.86
Orissa	MT/ST	91.52	92.59	19.47	83.48	83.84	65.47
	LR	6.39	6.26	14.96	9.06	8.84	20.02
Tripura	MT/ST	104.61	104.61	*	118.18	118.34	0.00
	LR	5.12	5.12	*	9.09	8.97	100.00
			MOTHER TONGUE: SCHEDULED TRIBE:	BODO/BORO BORO/BOROKACHARI			
Assam	MT/ST	99.67	99.37	139.20	87.43	87.39	91.60
	LR	19.83	19.62	47.12	20.51	20.19	54.26
West Bengal**	MT/ST						
	LR						
			MOTHER TONGUE: SCHEDULED TRIBE:	HO HO			
Bihar	MT/ST	97.87	97.44	109.81	106.26	104.86	132.32
	LR	9.57	9.11	22.20	12.74	11.99	26.63
Orissa	MT/ST	468.69	474.59	280.62	670.11	659.37	1121.16
	LR	7.09	6.97	10.79	8.96	8.30	36.66
West Bengal	MT/ST	21.95	28.62	0.39	54.92	61.74	18.40
	LR	6.14	3.41	14.96	11.87	9.39	25.15
			MOTHER TONGUE: SCHEDULED TRIBE:	HALABI HALBA OR HALBI			
Madhya Pradesh	MT/ST	196.76	228.86	14.81	196.37	198.26	122.14
	LR	15.28	14.20	21.37	19.05	18.79	29.27
Maharashtra	MT/ST	94.54	62.87	741.71	28.15	28.89	8.65
	LR	24.74	23.54	49.29	29.80	28.75	57.14
			MOTHER TONGUE: SCHEDULED TRIBE:	KABUI KABUI			
Manipur	MT/ST	100.00	NA	NA	122.56	124.83	102.36
	LR	27.39	25.94	44.11	24.62	22.19	46.24

MT/ST	Stands for speakers of the mother tongue as a per cent of the population of the synonymous tribe by state.
LR	Stands for literacy rate among the population of this scheduled tribe by state.
*	Neither speakers of this mother tongue nor population of the tribe was reported.
**	Though there were speakers of this mother tongue, no population was returned under this scheduled tribe either in the 1961 or in 1971 Censuses.
Note:	States have been arranged in descending order regarding the population of each scheduled tribe.